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Carolina Planning

Spring 1989
Vol. 15 No. 1

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Carolina Planning

A Student-run Publication of the University of North Carolina Department of City and Regional Planning
Spring 1989, Volume 15, Number 1

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Carolina Planning wishes to express a special thanks to the following: Asta Cooper and the Center for Urban and Regional Studies; Patricia Santos; Myrick Howard, Sally Poland and Steve Henrichsen of the Historic Preservation Foundation; the DCRP Alumni Association; and the Committee for Public Art.

Editors' Note

Devoting an entire issue to the role of preservation in planning may seem unusual. Often, practitioners view advocates of historic and environmental preservation as obstructionists rooted in the values of the past, disrupting the work of those moving a community forward. However, contrary to these lingering perceptions, the goal of preservationists and conservationists is not clinging to the past nor thwarting change. As the following articles demonstrate, a preservation ethic has in fact been adopted by an ever-broadening spectrum of professionals, as well as the general public; and the achievements the authors describe here have been remarkable.

Instead of viewing the cityscape as merely a stage upon which to continually "implement new strategies" or as a canvas to wipe clean, these individuals seek to sensitively *manage* change. Many authors draw to our attention the ways in which commonly overlooked aspects of our historic, cultural and natural heritage should and can be brought into the planning and development process. Bungalow neighborhoods, urban parks, pavement patterns, street trees, and "community character" may seem far less tangible than antebellum mansions and vast tracts of open land; however, these more subtle elements are equally important in the preservation of the local identity and "sense of place" of a particular area.

If these new approaches challenge the typical view of history and historic preservation, so may the cast of characters. Members of a wide variety of professions are being educated and exposed to preservation; among those contributing to this issue of **Carolina Planning** are local government representatives, landscape architects, artists, historians, lawyers, and planners. These participants are taking an active stance, forming coalitions and mobilizing political and civic resources. Instead of simply waiting to react to unwelcome proposals, they are anticipating ways to *guide* growth and suggesting new means with which to enhance the overall quality of life.

Not long ago, it would have seemed unlikely to see these fields joining forces for a common cause. Individually, many preservation advocates were seen as "special interest" groups, competing for scarce resources and public support. However, there is a growing realization that what they all share is a feeling of stewardship for their surroundings. As custodians of the natural and built environment, they are staking a claim to what they feel is valuable in their communities, each bringing unique skills and experiences to the planning process. As planning students with a wide variety of backgrounds and professional goals, the emergence of this coalition building movement is inspiring. Collectively, we can anticipate the opportunity to act in accordance with an individual preservation ethic as we prepare to embark on divergent career paths.

With this evolution of motives, new set of issues, and infusion of new actors, the reader may wonder what preservation *is* in 1989. We would argue that its primary concern has long been one of looking ahead. In fact, the bottom line for preservationists has always been the way in which, by striving to retain a link with their heritage today, they will be able to extend this legacy and enrich the quality of life for future generations.

Elizabeth Morton and Paul Kron
Editors

Carolina Planning welcomes comments and suggestions on the articles published and invites the submission of new material for future editions. Our upcoming Fall publication will cover emerging social issues in planning. For more information about submissions, please request our author's packet. Address correspondence to **Carolina Planning**, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, CB# 3140, New East Building, Chapel Hill, North Carolina 27599-3140.

Carolina Planning is published biannually by students in the Department of City and Regional Planning, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, with the assistance of funds from the John A. Parker Trust Fund, Department of City and Regional Planning.

Subscriptions to **Carolina Planning** are available at an annual rate of $8.00, or $15.00 for two years.

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In The Works

Conference News

"Preservation By Design"

On September 30 - October 1, 1988 the Historic Preservation Foundation of North Carolina and the Alumni Association of the Department of City and Regional Planning co-sponsored "Preservation by Design." Keynote speaker, Seattle artist Lewis "Buster" Simpson, engaged conference participants with the subject of "Art, History, and Public Space" at the historic Playmakers Theater. An article drawn from this speech appears in this issue's Forum section.

Workshops in three concurrent tracks, Historic Districts and Properties, Community Appearance Commissions, and Preservation Issues, engendered a spirit of coalition building among participants. *Carolina Planning* helped coordinate two panels entitled "Building Preservation Coalitions." Panelists included three DCRP alumni, Kathleen A. Blaha, Jeffrey Swain, and Marjorie K. N. Salzman, who relate their experience in building coalitions in this issue of *Carolina Planning*. The consensus among authors is that coalitions are necessary for the success of any preservation and conservation effort.

North Carolina painter Maud Gatewood concluded the symposium by guiding a day-long bus tour of antebellum architecture in Caswell County. Highlights of the tour included the Clarendon Hall (c. 1840), the Woodside Inn (c. 1838) and the Bartlett Yancey House (c. 1815/1856), currently undergoing restoration.

Upcoming Conference: Public Art Dialogue = Southeast

Public Art Dialogue = Southeast is a regional public art conference that will be held June 8-11, 1989 in Durham, North Carolina at the Durham Arts Council and the Durham Convention Center. Co-sponsored by the North Carolina Arts Council and the Durham Arts Council, this event will bring together developers, architects, landscape architects, city planners, public officials, designers, arts administrators, artists, and educators as presenters and participants to discuss the future of public art in the Southeast.

Richard A. Kahan, Stanton Eckstut, and Susan Child, developer and architects respectively, will speak on New York's Battery Park City. Battery Park City is nationally recognized for its planning and integration of public art in a redevelopment project. In addition, public art leaders including Richard Andrews, Patricia Fuller, and Leonard Hunter will address topics such as the roles of the project manager, design team, design professional, and the artist; the relationship of the artwork to the site; and temporary versus permanent installations. Case studies will detail revitalization of historic sites with public art, current public art projects, architectural projects involving artists and more.

Conference workshops will cover planning, budgets, contracts, selection processes, and public relations. *New Works: A Public Art Project Planning Guide* and *Going Public: A Field Guide to Developmant in Art in Public Places* will be included in conference registration materials.

For further information on Public Art Dialogue = Southeast, contact Jan Brooks Lloyd, conference coordinator, Post Office Box 264, Newell, North Carolina 28126, 704-786-3037; Margaret DeMott, Durham Arts Council, 120 Morris St., Durham, North Carolina 27701, 919-560-2787; or Ann Roth, North Carolina Arts Council, Raleigh, North Carolina 27611, 919-733-2111.

Preserving a Special Place: Growth Management in Fort Mill, South Carolina

Kenneth C. Driggers

Small towns throughout the country are struggling to balance the need for economic development with the desire to preserve a distinct local character. Until now, these communities have virtually toiled alone. Thanks to the Conservation Foundation, a new partnership - with access to a nationwide network of growth management specialists - is emerging.

The Conservation Foundation's Successful Communities Program.

The Conservation Foundation is a nonprofit organization which was founded in 1948. It is dedicated to improving the quality of the environment through wise use of the earth's resources. Its long standing interest and involvement in land conservation and development issues emphasize a comprehensive approach. Through public advocacy, characterized by reason and balance, cooperative problem solving, and the development of new ideas, it seeks effective solutions to current and emerging environmental problems. The Foundation has developed a long record of important research into the issues facing all levels of government as they struggle to ensure a clean and safe environment.

The *Successful Communities* Program is an attempt by the Foundation to address the issue of growth management at the local government level. Uncontrolled growth is especially threatening since many small towns rely on volunteer governments which lack the time and resources to adequately confront the problem. As development engulfs an area, many of the prime resources which lend a community its uniqueness are lost under a blanket of asphalt.

Successful Communities is designed to assist local governments in managing development to protect their unique resources. Several small towns were selected to work with *Successful Communities* in developing a plan for growth management. Fort Mill was the first of these communities.

In addition to technical assistance, The Successful Communities Land Trust was established to assist concerned citizens in acquiring important property threatened by development. A research and education effort is underway to build a network of individuals who are concerned with growth management and want to share successful techniques for addressing its related problems.

The Town of Fort Mill

At first glance, Fort Mill, South Carolina would appear to be an ideal community. Located just 15 miles south of Charlotte, North Carolina it possesses traditional small-town charm, yet the opportunities of a large city are nearby. The area's educational and recreational systems are superlative. The booming Charlotte economy keeps unemployment low. The rural countryside provides an attractive atmosphere for the town. Open fields and heavy forests border the highways to and from Fort Mill.

In spite of the advantages they enjoy, the citizens of Fort Mill are worried. Rapid growth and development from Charlotte threaten to destroy their high quality of life. Suburban housing developments are being built in the area at an astounding rate. Each year hundreds of new students flood the school system. The parents of these children commute to Charlotte for work each morning, clogging a traffic system more suited to occasional farm trucks than commuters. The scenic countryside is rapidly changing from productive farmland and historic homesteads, to an endless string of suburban developments.

The Town Takes Action

Citizen concern has prompted the government of Fort Mill to be among the first in South Carolina to address the issue of growth management. In April of 1988, the Fort Mill Town Council voted to form a partnership with *Successful Communities*. Over the next two years, Fort Mill and *Successful Communities* will work together to study the problems that threaten the area's high quality of life and devise a plan to address these issues. By addressing

the problem of rapid development now, the town hopes to retain its special qualities as it continues to grow.

Successful Communities set out to build a wide base of support for its involvement in Fort Mill before committing any resources to the project. Official invitations from both government and business leaders were prerequisites for proceeding with the program. Representatives from *Successful Communities* visited Fort Mill to address the concerns of local citizens about the changes occurring in their town. The Chamber of Commerce, after meeting with Foundation staff, decided to officially invite *Successful Communities* to work in the town. A promising meeting was also held with the management of Spring's Industries, the multinational textile firm headquartered in Fort Mill. It was clear from these initial contacts that the Fort Mill business community, as well as its citizens, was concerned about the growth-related problems facing the town.

The town government was enthusiastic about the program. During the most recent municipal elections, planning for growth - especially its associated traffic problems - had become a hot political topic. The Fort Mill Town Council recognized it was faced with a problem that was crucial to the future of the town. Solving the problem would require more planning expertise than the council had. The relationship with *Successful Communities* gives the town this planning capability.

Deciding What Is Important

Successful Communities established a four-stage workplan to address the growth problem in Fort Mill. The first stage involved conducting a comprehensive inventory of the important environmental resources in the area. Fort Mill Township contains many environmentally sensitive areas which should be preserved. These areas are important to the heritage of both the community and South Carolina.

Assistance from the South Carolina Land Resources Commission was invaluable in compiling a mapping system which contains all sensitive resources. These resources were digitized onto a series of computer maps. Placing this data in a computerized format allows the planning system to be flexible and updated easily. Each map was overlaid to create a composite of the study area. Such a geographic information system (GIS) can be used as

Confederate Park, located in downtown Fort Mill, is dedicated to the sons of Fort Mill who gave their lives in the Civil War.

follows: if the town wants to restrict new construction to areas within a specified number of feet from water and sewer lines, which rest on soil suitable to building, and which do not infringe upon an environmentally sensitive area, the computer can create a land use plan that meets these criteria. While this capability is becoming commonplace in large cities, its use in rural South Carolina is new. It puts Fort Mill at the forefront in computer planning capability in the Southeast.

History is important to the people of Fort Mill and is perhaps the town's greatest asset. Unfortunately, rapid growth tends to mar the historic appearance of a community as new construction either buries important structures under asphalt or destroys the character of what was once a close-knit neighborhood. Prior efforts by the local chamber of commerce had generated an inventory of landmarks important to the town's development. *Successful Communities* has begun a complete historical survey utilizing the services of a professional consultant. This survey will produce a comprehensive record of the town's architecture and development. Adding the survey data to the GIS system will produce an additional layer of information demonstrating what historic areas need to be considered for protection.

The inventory includes resources which are not easily labeled. Intangible aspects of a community are important as they add to its quality of life. The small town atmosphere and varied population mix of Fort Mill make it attractive. These resources will be stressed in the inventory; a focal point of the program will be to ensure that they remain a part of life in Fort Mill.

Each Community Needs a Vision of Its Future

Successful Communities has attempted to involve a wide spectrum of Fort Mill society in the debate over the direction of the community. The second stage of the project entails a series of community meetings aimed at creating a vision of the future for the town. The result of these meetings will be a vision statement, spelling out what makes Fort Mill special to its citizens and what needs to be done to protect the unique qualities of the town. This vision statement will serve as a road map to the Fort Mill of the future.

The preparation of this vision statement has been a cooperative effort between the business community and the government. The Chamber of Commerce's Conservation and Revitalization Committee is working with *Successful Communities* to ensure that economic growth is compatible with Fort Mill's small-town nature. Using a questionnaire published in the local newspaper, the committee has identified the revitalization of downtown as its primary objective. Like many downtowns across the country, the central business district has been losing the battle with regional shopping malls. The failure to maintain this downtown would not only have severe economic effects for Fort Mill, but also undermine the cultural cohesiveness of the community.

The town council is participating in the vision-setting stage through the establishment of a Successful Communities Task Force. This broad-based group has pinpointed several potential problems the town needs to address. While the tangible resources of the area are considered important, the task force has identified the maintenance of a small-town atmosphere as the most important objective of the program. With the influx of new citizens into housing developments on the outskirts of the town, the goal is to maintain Fort Mill's identity as a distinct community, instead of allowing it to become just another bedroom of nearby Charlotte. Instilling into the new citizens a sense of identity with the rich tradition of Fort Mill will be a cornerstone of the plan to maintain the town's uniqueness.

The cooperation of both business and government is essential to a successful growth management program in Fort Mill. Similar efforts have failed when citizens and developers became hostile over attempts to plan for quality development. Developers often see citizen attempts to control growth as a threat to the profitability of their projects. The "not-in-my-backyard" syndrome often causes citizens to cut off negotiations with developers instead of seeking mutually beneficial solutions to their concerns. Efforts at keeping communication in Fort Mill open have been successful as the area's two largest developers sit on the Chamber of Commerce's committee working on the project. This involvement will help ensure that mutually beneficial solutions to the area's growth problems are reached.

Protecting Special Resources

The inventory of important resources and citizen vision-setting will support the third segment of *Successful Communities*' involvement in Fort Mill: compiling a workable plan to protect the town from uncontrolled growth. While the comprehensive plan is scheduled to be completed in March of 1989, many of the plan's components are already being put in place. It is essential that mechanisms to carry out growth management techniques be established in order to allow smooth implementation of a master plan. Fort Mill lacked many of these mechanisms. It has relied on a small administrative staff to supplement a volunteer government. Putting planning mechanisms in place will allow the town to swiftly carry out those policies it decides to pursue.

When the comprehensive growth management plan is completed in March 1989, it will tie these projects in with other tools to address the long term needs of Fort

The Oliver House, built in the 1890's, is an example of the unique charm that the people of Fort Mill want to preserve.

Mill. Primary among the issues requiring action is the protection of sensitive environmental areas which are threatened by the rapid development. A land use plan will be developed to guide development away from sensitive areas and towards those places where the natural environment is capable of adequately absorbing growth.

The Fort Mill Town Council voted unanimously to establish a Historic Landmarks Commission to address the protection of historic architecture. The commission was granted the authority of architectural review on new construction and external alterations within historic districts. It has only now begun to consider what areas should be included within historic districts. The commission's recommendations will be included in the comprehensive report to town council for enactment. When the council approves a historic protection plan, an administrative body will be in place to administer the accompanying regulations.

Aesthetic controls will be a major concern to Fort Mill. Often new construction appears bland as developers rush to make a profit from rapidly increasing demand. If left unchecked, this "sameness" will destroy the architectural character which lends a town its uniqueness. Besides the historic districts already discussed, the town will consider design guidelines for new construction within its zoning authority. Implementation of design guidelines allows a community to control the appearance of new buildings and preserve its architectural character.

A comprehensive county billboard-control ordinance has also been prepared. While Fort Mill has regulated billboards for years, it has felt the effect of the failure of York County to effectively address the problem. Many of the highways leading to the town lie outside its zoning jurisdiction and have become overrun with massive billboards. It will take a decision by the county council to solve the problem and passage of the ordinance is a lengthy process. Public concern over the billboard problem makes the passage of stricter controls probable.

Fort Mill's traffic problem required immediate attention as downtown Fort Mill had become a primary route for commuters traveling to Charlotte each day. Effective lobbying of the South Carolina Department of

Transportation moved the construction of a bypass around Fort Mill to the top of the State's highway priority list. *Successful Communities* has begun negotiations with the National Park Service to involve NPS in the design of the highway to ensure that it enhances the scenic beauty of the route while solving the town's traffic problems. Designating the bypass a scenic corridor where development is controlled will protect the view along the route.

Planning and regulations can not take the place of civic-minded citizens. Fort Mill has been blessed by the decision of the area's largest landowners to remove from development a large section of their property, creating a greenbelt around Fort Mill. This greenbelt will protect the town from overdeveloping and provide excellent recreational opportunities. The greenbelt contains prime agricultural lands, historic sites, and scenic vistas. *Successful Communities*, realizing that this project is of significant importance to the future livability of the town, is currently attempting to have other landowners contribute to the plan and complete the greenbelt to the south of Fort Mill.

Implementation: The Crucial Stage

Implementation is the crucial stage in any growth management program. Many of the steps necessary to effectively preserve a community's character will impact upon the rights of landowners. The implementation stage is what makes *Successful Communities* different from private consultants. *Successful Communities* is designed to work with Fort Mill to put into practice the steps spelled out in the comprehensive plan. Implemented land use policies, not the plan itself, will help manage growth in Fort Mill.

Implementation will once again require the cooperative efforts of developers and government. The involvement of varied interests in the planning stage will help provide for a smooth implementation. The Fort Mill and York County governments will have to implement land use regulations which will be unfamiliar to this area of South Carolina. Developers will find that they must factor in different restraints when calculating the profitability of their projects. Growth management can be compatible with all interests. Quality development provides a high return for the developer and protects the special character of a community. Demonstrating this compatibility is the crucial step for growth management advocates in Fort Mill.

Fort Mill and *Successful Communities* have no illusions about the difficulty of implementing an effective growth management program. Negotiation and compromise will be necessary as competing interests react to different proposals. The need for growth management never ends. Policies which were effective in the past at controlling development require continuous reexamination. New problems need to be studied and original solutions developed for the area's changing needs. The parties involved should frequently ask themselves, "Are we achieving what we intended when we started?"

Conclusion

Fort Mill has taken the first step toward protecting its small town character by realizing that a problem looms on the horizon. It has responded to this threat by deciding to take control of its destiny by employing appropriate techniques to mitigate the problems accompanying rapid growth. Logical solutions, based on well-thought-out planning, can guide and control growth in a way that preserves the things citizens consider dear. These solutions will require debate and hard decisions. Some decisions will be difficult to make as they require government to regulate the use of land in new ways. These new solutions can benefit all the citizens of Fort Mill.

The town's partnership with *Successful Communities* is a statement by Fort Mill that its citizens are concerned about what is happening to their town and that they can shape what their community becomes. This long-range outlook can only help preserve for future Fort Mill citizens the benefits that current residents have refused to take for granted. Growth and change can be good for a community. But when growth threatens to destroy the very things which attracted people to an area, it needs to be controlled. Quality development is what Fort Mill desires. Fort Mill is taking steps which will ensure that the changes occurring daily do not destroy the rich character of this special community. □

Kenneth C. Driggers is a Columbia, South Carolina attorney, and an associate with the Conservation Foundation. He is currently the North and South Carolina representative for *Successful Communities*. He previously worked for local governments in Charleston, South Carolina and Chicago. He is a member of the South Carolina Bar.

Open Space Planning: A Case Study of Durham County, North Carolina

David Swanson and Charles Flink

Rapid population growth and urbanization in Durham County threaten the open space necessary to maintain the overall landscape and the quality of life. Farsighted government officials and concerned citizens recognized the need to preserve open space, and thus created the Durham County Open Space/Greenway Plan. The following article discusses the development of this plan.

Open space planning has recently become an important issue in North Carolina, particularly in areas experiencing rapid growth, where urbanization and suburbanization threaten to destroy irreplaceable open space lands. North Carolina is primarily a rural state, traditionally dominated by agriculture and small cities and low density towns occupying large areas of land. Due to the state's predominantly rural character and great abundance of land, open space has long been taken for granted. However, with the population increasing at a faster rate than ever before, with changes in the state's economy and with growth and development affecting municipal resources, the changes are becoming ever more apparent on the landscape.

It has been generally recognized that open space contributes to the overall quality of life in a community and has strong popular appeal among all segments of society. The general citizenry has made this a political issue and local elected officials have begun to give open space and greenways planning higher priority on their agendas. Many local governments are budgeting funds both for professional planning staff with training in the necessary administrative procedures and for the hiring of professional consulting firms with an expertise in preparing plans and programs unique to the local community's characteristics.

How can governmental bodies who recognize the need to protect their vitally important open spaces develop a preservation plan and how can they effectively implement and manage such a program?

Durham County... A Brief Background

Durham County, in the heart of the Research Triangle area, is richly endowed with a unique and diverse landscape which contains a variety of environmentally significant natural resources. This landscape is comprised of 190,000 acres of gently rolling hills, a well defined river and stream system, and lush, abundant vegetation.

During the past two decades, the county has been experiencing a steady growth in population. Population projections indicate that the county will grow at an even faster rate in the next 20 years. Between 1980 and 1990, population is expected to have increased 21%, and should increase another 41% between 1990 and 2000. This growth in population is affecting the rural landscape of the county, as new residents require infrastructure such as new housing, shopping and employment centers, roads, water and sewer facilities, schools, and recreational services. The abundant rural landscape is gradually changing as it acquires an urban and suburban character.

The loss of Durham County's rural landscape is already apparent. From 1955 to 1978, the county lost 41% of its farmland and from 1960 to 1980, over 25,000 acres of rural and agricultural lands were shifted to an urban or suburban land use. This loss represents approximately one-eighth of the county landscape.

Durham County has recognized the need to develop a long range, comprehensive plan to conserve, preserve and protect environmentally sensitive lands, water courses and other natural resources of the County. In early 1987, many concerned citizens and a farsighted local government began to initiate such a plan. At the outset, many questions were asked, regarding what purpose such a plan would serve, what types of open space would be included, and how the program could be effectively implemented.

What Is Open Space and Why Is It Needed?

While there is no singular, widely accepted definition for open space, it can be defined as land and bodies of water which contain no form of urban or suburban development and which have desirable natural landscape

qualities. Open space is further defined as:

a) Environmentally sensitive lands and watercourses, such as stream courses and floodplains, land and water which lie in critical watershed areas, wetlands, and those lands which for other environmental reasons should not contain any form of urban or suburban development.
b) Natural resource lands, such as those areas considered significant by the *Inventory of Natural Areas and Rare Species of Durham County* (mentioned below) and lands currently owned by the City of Durham, State of North Carolina and United States government which preserve the county's natural heritage.
c) Critical lands, such as those lands that lie within the developing areas of the county, which are in close proximity to urban/suburban development, possess a unique scenic quality or physical characteristic, and provide for a valued human use, such as recreation, relief from urban congestion, opportunity for relaxation, physical exercise and spiritual stimulation.

Open space provides many necessary functions for urban, suburban and rural communities. It protects the hydrologic process of environmentally sensitive areas by providing ample undeveloped land for the recharge of underground aquifers which supply drinking water and for the unrestricted flow of floodwaters. Open space gives definition to urban and suburban growth patterns by buffering adjacent conflicting land uses. It also provides recreational, educational and cultural opportunities for residents of a community, and maintains a safe habitat for rare species of plants and wildlife.

Where Open Space Is Found

Open space is most frequently found in rural areas, in the form of open countryside. However, rural open space can also include undeveloped forested areas, open fields, large lakes and streams. In addition, selected farmland can be considered a component of open space.

The *Inventory of Natural Areas and Rare Species of Durham County*, a study completed in 1987, identified 52 environmentally significant sites containing rare species of plants, aquatic ecosystems, breeding habitats for birds and animals, corridors for animal migration, and scenic areas for recreation. In other counties in the Triangle area, similar natural inventory studies have also been completed

Open space is an essential component of the overall landscape, contributing to the environmental quality of both the individual parcel of land and the entire community.

or are currently underway. These inventories are vital components in preservation plans because they provide a scientific basis for the selection of the sites.

Open space can also be contained within urban and suburban landscapes, in the form of undeveloped parcels of property, forested areas, parklands, cemeteries, greenways, and certain lands which provide scenic vistas. Urban open space is often found around the historic or cultural destination points of a community, like colleges, museums and historic properties.

In urban areas, open space should be regarded as more than a piece of land that was left over from a man-made development. Open space is an essential component of the overall landscape, contributing to the environmental quality of both the individual parcel of land and the entire community. Therefore, open space should be planned for and set aside before development occurs.

The Purpose of the Durham County Open Space/Greenway Plan

The primary purpose of the Durham County Open Space/Greenway Plan is to serve as a "tool" with which decisions can be made regarding the conservation, preservation and protection of open spaces.

The Plan focuses on the identification of water courses, critical lands and natural resources and describes the policies, organizational structure and financial mechanisms necessary to protect them. It is a long range, comprehensive, and integrated action plan, designed to conserve, preserve, and protect:

1. Watersheds and fragile environmental areas
2. Natural habitats for animals and plants
3. Large natural areas
4. Lands along stream corridors as linkages between functional areas
5. Farmland and other economic resource lands
6. Recreational lands and waters
7. Scenic lands and vistas

How To Use the Plan

The Open Space/Greenway Plan and Program has become a vital component of Durham County's Comprehensive Plan, and will be used to guide the county's future growth and development. The Plan recommends a variety of approaches for conserving, controlling and acquiring open space, including:

1. Preparing management plans for existing open space resources currently owned and managed by public and private agencies.
2. Preserving open space through the development of new regulations.
3. Fee simple purchasing of open space by the County government with revenue from various sources.
4. Providing economic incentives to landowners of large open spaces to maintain land in its natural state, with the use of tax abatements and transfer of development rights.

Once open space lands are under the protection of the county, some of these lands will be made available for public access and use. Since the future use of these lands will be determined by the County Commissioners, all citizens of the county will be given the opportunity to have input into decisions regarding which locations and types of uses are desirable.

The Planning and Public Participation Process

In creating the Open Space/Greenway Plan for Durham County, a multi-stage planning and public participation process has been developed. The County Commissioners authorized the County Manager to hire a professional planning firm as consultants to develop the Plan. The County Manager also appointed a 15-member Open Space/Greenway Advisory Committee to assist the consultants and planning staff. The committee members were selected to represent the citizens of the county in the planning process.

The intent of the citizen participation process was to allow the public to raise fundamental questions about the need and role of open space in light of the county's present day political, economic and social situation. The various public viewpoints and selected opinions were gathered by the consultants and the county planning staff through a "Listening" process, in which each of the committee members were interviewed individually. Additional public input was received through a citizen's survey. After the results were analyzed, efforts were made to incorporate these comments into the Plan.

The consultants worked with the staff and Advisory Committee to complete five primary tasks necessary for the creation of the Open Space/Greenways Plan.

Task #1: Complete an Inventory and Analysis of Data:

a) Map critical information, including natural systems and existing public open space within the county.
b) Evaluate the county's current open space supply as compared with accepted state and national standards.
c) Review the regulations and other relevant information which may have an impact on the development of an open space program.

Open space gives definition to urban and suburban growth patterns by buffering adjacent conflicting land uses.

Task #2: Obtain selected opinions regarding the concept of open space and greenways in Durham County.

Task #3: Establish goals and select categories of land.

Task #4: Prepare the Open Space/Greenways Plan and develop an Action Plan for each of the land categories.

Task #5: Prepare an Open Space/Greenway Program by formulating policies and recommendations for the organization, management and funding of the program.

The recommendations in the action plan will be proposed for consideration by the County Board of Commissioners. The primary recommendations deal with the funding the Open Space/Greenways Program and general acquisition procedures for open space lands. Other proposals concentrate on the implementation, including the necessary administrative tools and the type of new organization that must be created to carry out the objectives of the program. An important aspect of this process is the role that the Open Space/Greenways Advisory Commission will serve in providing guidance to the County Commissioners in future decisions. This Commission will provide the means for the citizens of the county to have constant input into the Plan's implementation.

The County Commissioners will soon implement the recommended policies of this plan, taking a major step to guarantee that critical natural systems are protected and that the quality of life for residents of Durham County will be maintained for future generations. □

David Swanson and Charles Flink are landscape architects; each heads his own firm in the Triangle area. The two served as original Co-Project Managers for the planning process of the Durham County Open Space Plan.

Building Preservation Coalitions

A section of the Preservation by Design conference of special interest to planners consisted of two panels entitled "Building Preservation Coalitions." Speakers drawn from fields as diverse as land trusts and affordable housing described the shared concerns which have increasingly inspired them to join forces in the name of preservation. In the following section, three DCRP alumni discuss their experiences with coalition building and how efforts have succeeded in their own communities.

Land Trusts: Focusing Limited Resources on Common Interests

Kathleen A. Blaha

This article discusses the importance of land trusts and other locally-based preservation and conservation organizations to resource protection. Through coordinated efforts, such organizations can and should play a vital role in the education of local citizenries, and the creation of a broad-based constituency for the conservation of land, the preservation of historical structures and landscapes, and the assurance of sensible land use decisions.

The idea of coalition building is not new to those who work in the nonprofit environmental sector. Limited financial resources and an agenda calling for a change in public policy requires strong coalitions, critical to accomplishing public goals. If leadership among environmental advocates is focused on common issues, the opportunity for making change is far more likely.

Coalition building between the environmental and historic preservation fields has few examples despite numerous similarities in their efforts to preserve the built and the natural environment. Unfortunately, the limited public funding available for land acquisition and historic preservation is often a source of competition between such groups.

Historic preservationists and land conservationists are separately forming coalitions in North Carolina to propose statewide protection and funding alternatives. However, if stable, long-range sources of support are to be established, the efforts of both environmentalists and preservationists must be united in one broad-based platform.

Environmental and historic preservation organizations in North Carolina are beginning to understand the value of combining organizational strengths to meet common goals, particularly in support of stable funding sources for resource protection. In order to encourage and develop communication between the two fields, common goals must be set and pursued. Historic preservationists and land conservationists can strengthen their efforts through coalitions which seek larger, more comprehensive strategies for resource protection backed by a broad-based, well-educated and better-funded constituency.

Building Coalitions Through Project Work

Since 1973, the Trust For Public Land, a nonprofit conservation organization, has worked nationally to create parks and open space opportunities for permanent public use. In 1987, the Trust became part of a coalition to save one of the most important archaeological discoveries ever made in North America. While clearing land for an office complex in Tallahassee, Florida, developers unearthed the first conclusive evidence of the 1539 Hernando de Soto Expedition which landed in Florida and traveled through what are now 10 southeastern states. The site occupies nearly five acres and is located less than two miles from the Florida State Capitol Building. When the Trust was asked

State Archaeologist, Calvin Smith (far right) and volunteers at the Tallahassee, Florida de Soto site

to assist in protecting the de Soto site, it was in danger of being developed despite its national significance, because no public monies were available to purchase the site.

The de Soto site became the Trust's first archaeological preservation project. The Trust stepped in and purchased the land based on a commitment from the State of Florida that the property could be reconveyed to the state once funding was available. After the Trust took title to the property, it created an effective coalition of environmental and historic preservation organizations, archaeological conservancies, state agencies and national organizations. Substantial private and public monies were raised for the land's acquisition and archaeological excavation, as well as the stabilization of the Governor Martin Home, a National Historic Register site also on the property. Furthermore, legislation was set in place that created a statewide emergency archaeological revolving fund to handle future crises.

The Trust played a leadership role in taking on the project and assuming title to the land, but its expertise in understanding the significance of the archaeological finds and the historic importance of the site was limited The success of the project rested on the network of information and expertise created by the coalition.

The coalition immediately saw that the de Soto discovery offered them an opportunity to do more than secure one site. The size and breadth of the coalition allowed goals for the project to be broadened to create a permanent funding mechanism for acquiring archaeological sites which might otherwise be lost to development. Furthermore, the coalition solidified a new network among conservationists, preservationists and archaeologists in educating the public to the need of protecting our heritage.

Land Trusts

The Trust for Public Land has been building constituencies for the preservation of environmental resources since the mid-1970s, primarily through the creation of land trusts. Land trusts are local nonprofit corporations that organize around community goals of historic and open space preservation and provide sensible land use and environmental education. Nationwide, hundreds of land trusts participate actively in the protection of their community's resources. Because of these organizations' local focus and roots, they are able to stay in tune with changes in land use. They can set realistic goals, modify them according to changing circumstances and respond quickly when opportunities arise.

Collectively, the nation has over 700 land trusts which have protected over 300,000 acres through outright ownership and over 400,000 acres through the use of conservation easements or deed restrictions. These protection efforts range from agricultural easements for the

preservation of farmland, to outright acquisition of endangered lands and historic sites and the acquisition and management of urban parks and gardens.

The real strength of land trusts lies in their collective ability to build constituencies and educate the public on key issues, thus creating opportunities for more comprehensive and long-term solutions to protecting our heritage.

Building Coalitions Among Land Trusts

Resource protection, whether it be for endangered habitats, city parkland, historic structures or archaeological sites, requires constituencies created by local land trusts.

Historically, resource protection has been the province of government, but with shrinking public dollars and increased controversy over the management of our natural and historic resources, the ability of government to act as the sole guardian of these resources is rapidly diminishing. Local private advocacy efforts are supplementing, and in many cases serving as substitutes for, government action.

Local organizations are flexible and can work quickly and efficiently in a familiar setting; in addition, they are self-motivated and self-reliant.

In 1982, the California Coastal Conservancy, a quasi-public agency established as a steward for the protection of coastal resources in California, created the Nonprofit Assistance Program partially as a result of one local community's successful partnership with the state on a northern California park project. In 1978, the state proposed a 10-mile coastal park in Humboldt County which condemned the property of 33 separate landowners. Local landowners strongly rejected the proposal, which called for strict public ownership of the park. In turn, the land trust proposed an alternative plan which included a mix of public and private uses, preserving the natural resources that were threatened while also recognizing the community's goals. The land trust then proceeded to negotiate two key acquisitions for the state, both bargain purchases, that resulted in a $400,000 savings to the state. Through a combination of tax benefits, locally devised management solutions and conservation easements which allowed continued private ownership in certain cases, the Land Trust was able to negotiate these "less than market-value" purchases.

Since 1982, the Conservancy has expanded the Nonprofit Assistance Program based on the enormous success and financial savings attributed to the contributions of land trusts. Not only has the Conservancy achieved many of their resource protection goals for coastal communities, but dozens of nonprofit organizations are now working together with the Conservancy in a strong coalition to propose state policy on coastal resource protection.

Building Long-Term Coalitions

Education and coalition building are critical to the accomplishment of preserving land, protecting historical structures and encouraging sensible land use. Education of local residents about the importance of natural and historic resources in their community enables them to act in protecting those resources. Coalitions strengthen the collective actions of these citizens and take the goal of environmental protection and enhancement one step further toward a collective consensus among many communities.

Two outstanding examples of coalitions in North Carolina are the Historic Preservation Foundation's network of revolving funds to provide emergency funding for historic structures and sites, and the North Carolina Coastal Federation's network of local environmental advocates in each of the coastal counties. The effectiveness of the Preservation Foundation and the Coastal Federation is based on a comprehensive approach to problem-solving and policy-making that has long-term implications beyond one or two local projects. The Federation and the Foundation provide leadership for education on vital resource protection issues, while local organizations bring together a constituency necessary to win long-term policy changes.

Coalition building among resource protection organizations in North Carolina must also cross the lines between preservationists and environmentalists, between urban open space advocates and farmland preservation efforts, and between endangered habitat protection and neighborhood revitalization. The growing number of local historic and environmental preservation organizations can use these collective community concerns to address statewide policy and funding issues. More organizations with similar protection goals do not threaten existing efforts; rather, they strengthen the constituency that is changing not only local but state policy priorities.

The Historic Preservation Foundation's 1988 Annual Meeting focused on the need for coalitions between preservationists and environmentalists in directing the destiny of preservation in the state. The North Carolina Natural Heritage Program and the Trust for Public Land are taking the next step and have scheduled two workshops in the spring of 1989 which will focus on the "how-to's" of program- and coalition building for land trusts.

These workshops, and the coalition-building that emerges from them, should begin to empower local land trusts and historic preservation organizations in North Carolina to develop strategies that jump ahead of problems and propose new policies. □

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A Local Government Perspective

Jeffrey Swain
Kathryn Sette

Local government plays an increasingly important role in determining the future of a community's historic preservation. In this article, the evolution of Rochester's strong historic preservation movement is provided along with instructive guidelines for building an effective preservation coalition.

Rochester, New York, as it exists today, is a function of its long history. The city was founded on the banks of the Genesee River nearly 200 years ago. Incorporated in 1834, Rochester developed into a western frontier boomtown. It became known as "The Young Lion of the West," largely because of its three waterfalls and the Erie Canal. As the Erie Canal made its way westward during the first half of the 19th century, Rochester became the major supplier of wheat, flour, and lumber to the western frontier. The flour from Rochester's mills along the Genesee River was transported to the western regions along both the Erie and Genesee Valley Canals.

Fortunately, much of Rochester's history has been preserved. Its diversity is a reflection of past migratory patterns and the leadership of many noteworthy individuals, such as Susan B. Anthony and Frederick Douglass. Even with the growth and strength of the historic preservation movement, Rochester has progressed. Historic preservation is not viewed as a means of preventing change, but as a method for sensitively managing change.

Local government plays a significant role in shaping Rochester's preservation movement. City government, through three of its major functions - land use planning, development, and regulation - is able to sponsor and guide preservation activities. A look back at the evolution of the preservation movement in Rochester explains why today the city enjoys the benefit of many preservation victories.

A Look Back - The Evolution of the Preservation Movement

As in many other places, preservation in Rochester began with a few well-to-do ladies banding together in 1937 to create house museums in the two or three properties they acquired. Today, their organization, the Landmark Society of Western New York, is one of the largest preservation organizations in the country. In the early years, preservation in Rochester focused on the restoration of a few houses.

During the 50s and 60s, many exciting elements of Rochester's built environment were demolished to make way for new expressways, government buildings, high rise development and urban renewal. Demolition of the historic Gleason Mansion on East Avenue, to construct a particularly unattractive high rise apartment building, was a turning point in the community. Neighborhood activists united with the Landmark Society to use preservation as a means with which to maintain their neighborhoods. This coalition was aided and strengthened by the local academic community, including architecture faculty from Syracuse and Cornell Universities. Fortuitously, assistance was received from a consultant to the local Urban Renewal Agency who had done significant preservation work in Savannah, Georgia. The Landmark Society began its first revolving loan fund in the 60s, which helped convince some private developers of the merits of preservation.

This slow start and troubled path led in 1969 to the adoption of the city's Preservation Code, the establishment of the Preservation Board, and the designation of the city's first local preservation district - the East Avenue District. This was followed in 1971 by the Grove Place Preservation District, and in 1972 by the Mt. Hope/Highland Preservation District. The Third Ward Preservation District was designated in 1972, rescinded in 1973 and finally re-designated in 1977 in a smaller version. Other districts followed in 1980 and in 1987. From 1969 to the present, 63 buildings and sites have been designated as city landmarks, the latest being the 1930s Art Deco City Fire Department and the Fire Department Shops.

An important milestone occurred in 1978 when city government moved into "New" City Hall, the former

The "New" City Hall, Rochester, N.Y. This 1884 former Federal Building was rehabilitated in 1978.

Federal Building. Despite the cynicism on the part of the media, potential energy savings and lower development costs were the arguments successfully employed by the proponents for the re-adaptation plan. Although case law in New York State exempts seats of government from zoning regulations, city policy has been to submit applications for Preservation Board approval of work on the "New" City Hall.

City policies and city agencies have become increasingly sophisticated in the application of the Preservation Code adopted in 1969 and its subsequent re-codification as part of a new comprehensive zoning ordinance in 1975. The Code requires that the Preservation Board be composed of 9 residents of the city appointed by the Mayor, 4 from designated districts, 1 licensed architect, 1 member of the Real Estate Board and 1 member of the Landmark Society of Western New York. They serve three year staggered terms and are not compensated. The Mayor has appointed volunteer consultants to the Board, which have included architectural historians from the University of Rochester and Rochester Institute of Technology, preservation technologists from the Landmark Society, and landscape architects. City staff to the Board includes an attorney, an architect from the Building Bureau and staff from the Zoning Bureau.

Each year the Preservation Board receives approximately 100 applications for a certificate of appropriateness from owners of landmarks or owners of property within preservation districts. The Preservation Board reviews all exterior building modifications, landscaping changes, demolitions and new construction for visual compatibility, quality of design and site development, and availability of materials, technology and craftsmanship. About 95% of these applications are approved as submitted or with conditions/modifications. Linkage of a certificate of appropriateness to building permits and certificates of occupancy has dramatically improved adherence to the codes. No building permits for exterior work on landmarks

or buildings within the preservation district are issued until the Preservation Board has granted approval. Also, the city inspectors who make the periodic site reviews during the work are informed of the requirements or conditions. Issuance of a certificate of occupancy is delayed until any Preservation Board conditions, including work not requiring a permit, are completed.

The most common enforcement problems result from work begun without submission of an application. Many neighborhood activists are vigilant in reporting these occurrences, making it possible for city staff to issue "stop work orders" and institute regular enforcement proceedings. The appropriate bureau chiefs are sensitive in their interpretation of the codes such that "stop work orders" may be issued for activities not requiring building permits. Several years ago, the city was able to arrange a special "housing" calendar once a month in the State Supreme Court where preservation enforcement cases are heard along with cases involving property conservation, building and zoning codes. An effort has been made to educate the judges on the value of strong enforcement and nuances in the codes. Judges have imposed increasingly stiff penalties and fines in these cases and, in the past year, the city policy has permitted freezing bank accounts of uncooperative property owners to ease collection of the fines. Another new city policy has permitted condemnation of one landmark suffering from demolition by neglect. The city plans to sell the property to a developer willing to rehabilitate it.

In December 1986, Rochester executed a Certified Local Government contract with the New York State Historic Preservation Office. Certified Local Governments are authorized by the 1980 amendment to the National Historic Preservation Act. Under this contract, the Preservation Board reviewed three applications for State Register Listings; the state agreed with the Board's recommendation in all three cases. Surveys of the city are almost complete and a comprehensive preservation plan is in progress. Some State funding for the surveys and plan resulted from the Certified Local Government contract. The State has also agreed to provide additional assistance for training city staff and Board members.

Building the Coalition: A Local Government Perspective

Get to Know "The Players"

A preservation network depends on the cooperation of a variety of people. The policy makers - such as the mayor, department heads, and city council - can create an atmosphere in which preservation objectives can be applied effectively. They can also place policy or funding reins on any efforts to keep history alive in the community. The staff reviewing plans, and the inspectors conducting on-site reviews of work in progress, are also important allies in a preservation coalition. One should get to know them all. Some time should be spent teaching allies about the value of preservation and the location of historically significant areas.

Learn the Regulations

The codes and ordinances in every state and municipality have elements which, when sensitively applied, can be used to protect a community's older buildings. Most states and municipalities have codes similar to the New York State Uniform Building and Fire Safety Code. Written support by local preservation groups and boards and the State Historic Preservation Offices have proved effective in acquiring variances for historic properties. Also, careful study of zoning codes and preservation codes can teach a preservation activist the kind of arguments a zoning board of appeals can "legally" consider, and ways to help developers achieve their goals while accomplishing preservation objectives. Increasingly, local and state environmental laws and regulations have been used effectively as preservation tools. Historic significance is a required topic of review under State Environmental Quality Review Acts in most states. Understanding these requirements and where they should be applied is important.

Create Allies

Thoughtful, sensitive developers do exist and can be encouraged to become allies. They appreciate being recommended to receive requests for proposals, opportunities to use revolving loan funds, and assistance with red tape. Furthermore, their success can be contagious. Adaptive re-use of elegant old homes or religious properties as corporate or division headquarters may spell new life for older properties. The corporate sector usually has an excellent understanding of the costs of redevelopment as well as the merits of an attractive setting for their operations.

Local museums and cultural facilities also make wonderful allies. Rochester has a flamboyantly decorated bus which travels a route consisting of historic sites, landmarks, and several museums. A recording, synchronized with the schedule, discusses points of interest along the route.

Create a Sense of Place and Belonging

Instilling in children and adults an awareness of the natural features, historic figures, and the built environment will create a sense of hometown pride. One of

Rochester's public schools, situated near the river gorge, has a program which uses the river and the neighborhood as learning laboratories. It has attracted a wide variety of professionals and talented amateurs to provide volunteer assistance for the curriculum. These young people now take pride in one of the city's most beautiful features, and are attuned to its relationship to the city's history. When a historic neighborhood church was recently threatened with demolition, students in the program circulated petitions and spoke out at the public hearings in favor of saving it and designating it a local landmark.

Educate on All Fronts

Take every opportunity to teach citizens about the history and architecture of the area. Make sure all landmarks are labelled. For every conceivable occasion, Rochester's Landmark Society provides the local newspapers with features and series about local buildings or local historic figures and the buildings or landscapes associated with them. The Society acquired funding and installed signs on street lightpoles which guide a walking tour around downtown.

Currently, the Landmark Society and various corporate sponsors are presenting a six-feature series on cable television which focuses on the history and architecture of Rochester. The series includes sessions entitled *Mt. Hope Cemetery: Victorian Rochester, Pioneer Rochester, Cornhill: Rochester's First Neighborhood, How To Fix Up An Old House, East Avenue Elegance, and Rochester's Gardens: A Setting For Architecture.*

Sell the Economics of Preservation

Even in our "throw-away society", everyone admires thriftiness. Yet, it is often hard to convince them that sensitive rehabilitation of old buildings and homes is economical. In Rochester, the same newspapers, radio, and television stations which once derided city council's decision to acquire the Old Federal Building rather than erect a new building are now promoting the 10th anniversary of the "New" City Hall. Projections of energy savings and lower development costs for rehabilitating the Old Federal Building proved accurate. The "New" City Hall has won several awards for energy savings. Moreover, re-development costs were between $15 and $20 per sq. ft.

Gatehouse at historic Mt. Hope Cemetery, Rochester, N.Y., the oldest continuously operating municipal cemetery in America.

less than projected costs for new construction. Additionally, no one can put a price on the increased morale of the workers who spend their days in this elegant building. The former City Hall is one of numerous downtown buildings to be rehabilitated by private developers taking advantage of the Historic Preservation Investment Tax Credits.

Some Rochesterians are now discovering the value of preservation in regard to their personal real estate. The data is somewhat limited since only one census tract is sufficiently contiguous with a preservation district for the information to be used. Recently data was collected on re-sale prices of property for a three-year period. In this census tract - which contains a mixture of single, double and multi-family dwellings, and neighborhood commercial - property values increased 110% over the period. The average increase in the city as a whole was 45%. People are coming back to the city to live and work; the East Avenue Preservation District probably has more "yuppies" per square foot than any other neighborhood in western New York.

Create Visible Successes and Win Friends

One way to create visible successes is to find situations in which publicity and general goodwill are ready companions. These are situations in which architecturally significant buildings are rehabilitated for purposes that everyone applauds and the media loves to cover.

We have found that certain state agencies meet these criteria. New York State budget practices usually necessitate building rehabilitation rather than new construction; the New York State Environmental Quality Review Act results in careful architectural review of any buildings they rehabilitate; and, finally, their programs are such that neighborhood goodwill is a built-in component. The successful restoration and re-adaptation of the Cody-Cady House, a 1939 landmark, for use by a State Alcohol Rehabilitation Program is frequently mentioned by the media. Moreover, the beautiful restoration was clearly visible at the opening reception for neighborhood leaders and local and state dignitaries and officials.

Infiltrate the Bureaucracy

In Rochester, a successful and growing mini-network of preservationists exists in the midst of City Hall. Preservation Board staff members are often alerted by city employees about alterations begun or planned for various landmarks or properties within preservation districts. Additionally, warnings are received about city-owned buildings which are threatened by inappropriate alterations. A recent threat to remove glass block windows from a city-owned Art Deco building resulted in its designation as a landmark. Questions from a demolition contractor to the city's demolition inspector helped save a historic onion-domed church. Information requested about subdivisions and lot sizes in the city's maps and records division has resulted in a "watch" on another historic church.

Remember That Government Has a Political Base

The mayor and city council are frustrated by confrontations among constituents and will make reluctant allies for causes when they are required to take sides. Give them room by starting the process to save a building early, even before option assessment and evaluation is begun. Let them know at that time the importance of a building, and help them assess ways to save it while still accomplishing the objectives of the project threatening the building. Recently, alert preservationists were able to protect the historic Gorsline Building during the feasibility stage when most Rochesterians were unaware that it was threatened. Questions regarding the merits of saving the building were centered on its isolated location as well as complications with providing sewers, water lines and other services. Preservationists countered with the high costs of demolition in this difficult location, and the increase in revenues from rehabilitating the building and returning it to the tax rolls. No confrontation and good arguments for preservation equalled content allies and a saved building.

Conclusion

Set Realistic Goals, Strategies, and Timetables

Set goals, identify strategies, and envision the necessary steps - including all possible obstacles. Look at the calendar, and be realistic in scheduling. Do not proceed haphazardly. Instead, be deliberate and intentional in moving forward. Success is then more likely to be realized.

Identify and Recruit Leadership With a Vision

Vision is paramount; it is the embodiment of the goals which have been set. Leadership must be able to look into the future and imagine the results of achieving those goals. Just as important, vision must be communicated effectively to both the coalition members and any potential constituencies. Without enlightened and assertive leadership, any coalition effort will flounder.

Recognize the Interdisciplinary Nature of Preservation

Historic preservation embraces a multitude of disciplines: education, environmental studies, economic development, archeology, culture and the arts, to name just

a few. The success of any coalition building will depend significantly on the degree to which the goals and action agenda recognize and build upon these individual disciplines. Not every project can appeal to all disciplines, but time should be taken at the goal setting and strategy development stages to identify potential allies and supporters from other disciplines. Remember, there is strength in numbers.

Recognize and Act on the Need for Compromise

Underlying all else is the willingness to compromise at the right time and under the right conditions. The goals and vision will remain unattainable unless the coalition leadership is willing to negotiate to "yes." Listening skills must be sharpened so that effective communication is possible between parties with differing viewpoints. Mutual respect among parties must be exercised if the compromise is to become a reality. The creation of the coalition itself depends on compromise, as does the achievement of its goals. This is fundamental of any decision making process in today's complicated world.□

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The Arts and Preservation: A Natural Affinity

Marjorie K.N. Salzman

In the third in our series of articles exploring the issues around which preservation coalitions can be built, the author discusses the evolving connection between planning, preservation, and the arts. She describes the spectacular results of arts groups joining forces with preservationists in North Carolina and gives insight into the type of individual often needed to stimulate these efforts.

It is very special for me to participate in this conference, which seems to validate the concept that planning, preservation, and the arts are acknowledged partners in making a more inhabitable environment - something that I have been interested in for a long time.

Almost 15 years ago, as a student in the Department of City and Regional Planning at UNC-Chapel Hill, nearly everyone regarded me as crazy for trying to link those three areas of study. My thesis was that a more aesthetically sensitive individual - that is, one exposed to the arts and therefore to the age-old questions of beauty and truth - would be better able to make land use decisions that would create a more livable world. I wanted to apply an artistic mode of thinking to planning. I finally received some credibility when I emphasized the application of planning techniques to the arts, as in service delivery systems, and I left Chapel Hill with the self-appointed title of "cultural resources planner."

In time, I discovered that coalitions are not something created to fit the conceptual theories of a graduate student. They evolve or emerge from the actions of individuals working to make changes or carry out a mission. When I returned to the field of arts administration three years ago, after a hiatus of several years, I discovered that planning methodologies and jargon had been adopted by community arts directors everywhere. I think that this new management style had more to do with business and governmental use of successful planning techniques than with the arts becoming part of the community's planning process. But this approach was effective and necessary as the community arts movement exploded. A recent survey indicates there are 1400 local arts groups in North Carolina, with an audience of over 10 million.

Concurrent to this growth in the arts, another evolution was underway which, without any specific arts input or direction, was bringing aesthetic values into the planning process. The leading force in this cultural phenomenon was historic preservation. Preservationists were demanding - first on historic, aesthetic, or emotional grounds, and later on economic terms - that our built environment be preserved to enhance our lives and our communities. The initial focus on individual buildings gave way to main streets, historic districts and, in some cases, entire towns. The public's consciousness was raised; citizens argued that new was not necessarily better, that their heritage was worth preserving, and that important contributors to their "sense of place" should be saved.

The Carolina Theater in Greensboro, North Carolina

The public recognized the superior qualities inherent in these old buildings and streetscapes, such as their unique architectural features and the fine craftsmanship apparent in their construction. They seemed "prettier" than the contemporary buildings in town. And the preservation voice kept building. It was an art form - architecture - which was exciting citizens to speak out on what shape their community should take and what characteristics it should preserve.

Not surprisingly, some of the strongest preservation advocates were individuals involved in the arts. Like many of their fellow preservationists, they were drawn to the cause by a particular building: a building they wanted to use for a performing arts center, an art gallery, or a theater. These organizations gravitated to distinguished historic structures, which offered an ambiance likely to enhance the presentation of the arts. In this respect, older buildings had much to offer: adequate space, central locations, good natural lighting, high-quality construction, an affordable initial price, and those "arty" facades.

It was obvious that arts groups would be attracted to the fading downtown theaters, the abandoned brick industrial buildings, and the well-proportioned early twentieth-century commercial buildings. And so they jumped on the preservation bandwagon, tying together arts and preservation causes.

The results in North Carolina alone have been tremendous: the Arts Center of Catawba Valley in Hickory, formerly Claremont Central High School; the Afro-American Cultural Center in Charlotte, formerly Little Rock AME Zion Church; ARTSPACE in Raleigh which was the Sanders Ford showroom and garage; the newly-renovated Arts Center in Durham, formerly City Hall; the Sawtooth Building in Winston-Salem, and The Jailhouse Gallery in Morganton. The list goes on of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century banks, courthouses and jails, vaudeville houses and movie theaters, churches, post offices, city halls and schools which have been transformed into arts and science museums, galleries, performing arts centers and theaters.

But something bigger was happening. With this preservation anchor, the arts were attracting a wide variety of support among businesses, civic leaders and public officials. Not only were these "rehabs" a visual improvement to an often ailing downtown, but they became "people places" which spawned further development like other arts facilities, shops and restaurants. Community pride in these projects was growing. And before long, the arts were seen as the salvation for dying downtowns and the panacea for community ills. The role of the arts in the North Carolina economy was made clear in a 1984 study of the state's not-for-profit arts groups. This analysis

ARTSPACE, Raleigh, North Carolina - housed in the former Sanders Ford showroom and garage

ARTSPACE interior

indicated that every arts-related dollar spent created a total of $2.31 worth of economic activity in the state.

The arts-preservation coalition has become a key player in the community planning process. As Mary Regan, Executive Director of the North Carolina Arts Council states, "Ten years ago, the arts were banging on the doors of town councils and county commissioners to get a little financial support for their arts programs; today, those elected officials are coming to the arts for assistance in design and planning decisions, industrial recruitment and economic development and community-wide recreational activities."

Frequently, an arts-preservation coalition has been formed largely because of the determination and vision of a unique person who cared about the quality of life in her or his community and sought to mobilize the political, financial and civic resources to encourage the arts to flourish. I call this individual a *cultural animateur*, a term coined by UNESCO in the 70s to mean "one who brings to life those symbols of our culture."

There are many of these individuals in North Carolina. The fact that over 80 arts centers are currently being planned, constructed or used attests to the fact that at least one must reside in nearly every county. But one very dynamic, creative *cultural animateur* embodies the arts-preservation partnership in an exemplary way. Betty Cone was President of the United Arts Council of Greensboro when it began looking for a performing arts space for the growing number of events and organizations coordinated by the Council. The once grand Art Deco Carolina Theater, built in 1927 in downtown Greensboro, was a natural choice. Guided by her business savvy and inexhaustible drive, the Arts Council purchased and renovated the Carolina Theatre. Hundreds of Greensboro citizens helped to preserve one of the city's last architectural treasures, while at the same time ensuring a home for the present and future needs of the city's arts groups.

This 1976 renovation project began as a focal point for the revitalization of downtown Greensboro and a catalyst for the establishment of the Old Greensborough Historic District. A street festival organized by the Arts Council for the Bicentennial has become an annual July 4th celebration sponsored by Old Greensborough.

Betty Cone, who later became President of the Old Greensborough Preservation Society, has said, "Community arts activities and historic preservation are both done in appreciation of the arts. The same pair of eyes that enjoys a great work of art enjoys the architectural treasures of local interest, like the Carolina Theater with its terra cotta detailing. The things we enjoy in the arts, even our most contemporary creative artistic efforts, have a long tradition. There is just a natural affinity which seems to be innate between the arts supporter and the preservationist."

A quest for a better and more livable environment has created an evolving arts-preservation-planning coalition. It did not take a graduate student to create it, but I am glad to be part of it. □

Marjorie K. N. Salzman is Executive Director of Arts Advocates of North Carolina, Inc., a nonpartisan, nonprofit lobbying organization representing the legislative interests of the state's artists and arts organizations. She also serves as administrator of the Governor's Business Council on the Arts and Humanities, an advisory group to the Department of Cultural Resources.

Preservation: Where Have We Been, Where Are We Going?

The Evolving Role of Local Government

Robert E. Stipe
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Robert Stipe, a long-time participant in the preservation movement looks back on the changes which have occurred in the field over the past 40 years. He takes a critical look at the role of the federal government in preservation, and advocates more control on the local level. To that end he has provided a checklist to help communities develop a local preservation plan. Some material in this article has been adapted from the author's chapter, "The Next Twenty Years," which appeared in The American Mosaic, edited by Robert E. Stipe and Antoinette Lee, published in 1987 by US/ICOMOS.

Introduction

A useful point of departure in speculating about the future of anything is to look at the past and present - where we've been, where we are and how we got here. The future of preservation as a dimension of local planning efforts will best be revealed by a look at some of the road markers in the preservation movement itself. These include its place in the structure of local government, the things we've said society ought to preserve, what has motivated us to preserve them, who the actors have been, and past and present public perceptions about what we're doing.

Twenty years ago - which might be taken as a rough benchmark date for much of what follows - the American preservation movement stood largely apart from local government altogether. Other than a few cities in which history has always been a large part of the local heritage, such as Boston, Charleston, and New Orleans, the preservation which was accomplished was done largely in the private sector, more often than not in opposition to local government policies.

Much has changed since then. As has been the case with many local government functions in America - everything from fire protection and public utilities to planning - historic preservation found its way into the local government structure by way of the independent advisory group, which later became an official advisory commission and, most recently, a quasi-regulatory body with staff support from the official city hall family.

Today, both in terms of place and structure, historic preservation in the smaller cities and towns still tends to be on the outskirts of local government. It often consists of an independent historic district or landmarks commission with regulatory authority over design infill, additions and change, and the moving and demolition of certain buildings. Occasionally such commissions are cloaked with the authority to acquire, preserve and dispose of certain historic buildings - acting, in other words, as public revolving funds. Medium-sized cities will often provide secretarial and staff services to the commission, usually from the planning or community development department. Even in large cities, where preservation has assumed near-departmental status (typically related to larger amenity planning or urban design efforts), such commissions still retain some authority. Thus, while the structure of preservation is still likely to depend on the size and resources of the city, it has moved steadily and, overall, rather quickly, into the mainstream of local government functions.

Now, however, "Certified Local Governments" have arrived on the scene. CLG's are local units of government certified by the state and national governments as competent (in terms of staffing, intentions, resources, etc.) to perform certain preservation functions relative to the National Register of Historic Places and the federal program that would, in the absence of such certification, be performed by the state itself. The inducement for becoming a CLG is a small dollop of federal funds and a certain amount of prestige, and the *quid pro quo* is the acceptance of federal regulations and standards for the conduct of the local preservation program. Thus, at a time when local governments are just coming up to speed in developing local preservation programs, they face at least the potential for federal domination of program priorities and content without having had an intermediate opportunity to establish their own home-grown sense of priorities.

The subject matter of preservation has also changed in the past 20 years. The movement no longer focuses so strongly on the homes and plantations of the rich and famous, "Capital A" Architecture, and period-piece

historic districts. The emergent interests now are in the vernacular dwellings of the middle classes and in the contributions of minority and ethnic groups. Preservation interests have broadened beyond dwellings to include such commercial structures as the diners of the 30s and 40s and the first McDonald's arch as well as such industrial artifacts as factories, dams, bridges, canals, and airports. The early interest in landscape preservation has expanded from gardens associated with important manor houses and Olmsted Parks to larger designed cultural and natural landscape units. Archaeology has moved from a concern with prehistoric settlements to a new interest in "urban archaeology," and it has reversed an earlier methodology based upon digging to a new ethic that prescribes not digging, but saving the site for later generations of better-equipped archaeologists.

The motives behind preservation have also changed. Two decades ago they were primarily aesthetic and patriotic. Pride of paternity and family, and history for history's sake were then the prevailing values. Now we are more sensitive socially. We are more respectful of ethnic traditions other than our own, and it is no longer fashionable to pursue only the values and traditions of the rich and famous. Diversity and separatism, as evidenced by the old slogan, "Black is Beautiful," have replaced the notion of America as the melting pot. History as told by historians is being diluted by the "cultural values" represented by the field of American Studies. So it is also with "environment."

The actors in the preservation game two decades ago were primarily front-line preservation volunteers. They were often an older generation, proud of their political wounds and bruises. Today, they tend to be younger people with university majors or certificates in preservation studies who, with their "professional" status, are often well paid. It is said, consequently, that the passion and fire of preservation volunteers has been replaced by the cool neutrality and hand calculators of the new professionals.

The public perception in the 60s was one of a preservation movement that was essentially reactive, crisis-oriented, and politically combative. Preservation was considered essentially the frosting on the cake of public priorities. This, of course, has changed to some degree. While a leading national preservation organization bravely insists that public opinion polls now support historic preservation, common sense and the number of good buildings being demolished every week tell us otherwise. Whether preservation is now a popular cause is a matter of viewpoint. It is certainly better organized, noisier, and more influential in national, state, and sometimes local political circles than before. A federal program second to none is well-established and strong. And preservation has, until recently, been successful in important ways in the commercial real estate market as the result of its preferred tax status. But whether government tax advantages represent a public policy preference or just another "loophole" depends upon whether the recipient is the speaker or someone else.

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Presently, then, the preservation movement is in something of a state of turmoil. Should it join in the larger battle for environmental betterment or should it go its own way? Academic historians, no less self-interested than any other group in the preservation movement, argue that Clio, the muse of history, is captive to the whims of "city planners" - whose profession is typically presented in quotation marks to question their very existence.

The old values have changed. While "better to repair than replace, better to replace than restore, and better to restore than reconstruct" is still widely accepted, moving old buildings, which was once forbidden, is now widely accepted as a preservation technique. "Conservation," a technique of preventive maintenance aimed at keeping historic neighborhoods in place until they are certifiably "historic," is under fire. The argument that volunteers just get in the way is heard with increasing frequency, and the federal and state agencies responsible for preservation programs must still contend with deeply divisive underlying political environments.

Raleigh, N.C. This house has been enveloped by commercial development responding to a desirable location. "Master Plans" are of little value when they are continually modified to conform to reality, rather than wielding any actual regulatory power.

Planning, Then and Now

It is not necessary in a publication of this kind to recite the details of the early history of the American planning movement other than to remind readers that its origins and persistent underlying concerns were, until the 60s and 70s, with the physical environment, and that presently, after a 20-year hiatus, we are returning anew to this same concern.

What has also persisted from the early days of planning is the underlying notion of the importance of a "master" or "comprehensive plan" as the principal expression of local development policy. One of its principal exponents in the 50s was F. Stuart Chapin, Jr., of the University of North Carolina - Chapel Hill planning department. Based on projections of population and economic trends and aspirations, such a plan was to begin with a land use plan to project spatial arrangement and distribution of major land uses - residential, commercial, industrial - which were to be neatly fitted together, reinforcing one another functionally and aesthetically. Chapin envisioned a transportation or thoroughfare network that would hold the various districts together and provide access to each part. Other portions of the plan were discrete documents, also in map form, indicating the location and service areas of public utilities and public facilities. The 60s saw the widespread incorporation of yet another plan element dealing with housing, and a few planners began to look creatively at the flip side of the development process to deal with conservation issues. These included the preservation of open space and natural areas.

At least conceptually, the implementation of such plans was simple. An array of specific tools was available. The municipality would review proposed capital improvements for compliance with the plan, and use its discretionary power over the extension of public facilities, utilities and services as a control device. It would also use its regulatory authority, most often zoning, to move the pattern of land uses toward compliance with the plan as development took place. Nonconformities, or preexisting land uses in the wrong place, were grandfathered in, the theory being that they would dry up and blow away over time. "The Plan" and the development pattern would in time become one.

This approach played well in planning schools, but failed in execution. The principal reason for failure was that the plans of the day were based on a rational (profit) model alone, but development on the ground was essentially a response to a mix of profit *and* political considerations - opportunistic and *ad hoc*, rather than rational. As one of the great American planners, Hugh Pomeroy, put it later, "The Plan became a pious, four-color illustrated letter to a planning Santa Claus who never existed." Nonetheless, the plan, when combined with lip-service to the concept of planning, made both citizens and elected officials feel good until the plan and political expediency came into conflict. At this point, the plan would be revised, re-done, or ignored altogether - in the latter case, once again rationalizing existing development, however bad, into the new plan. Unlike other western democracies that do not draw a distinction between the plan as a policy statement and the plan as regulation, American politicians have usually seen fit for the most part to follow the easier course.

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Eventually, the concept of the plan as something specifically concerned with physical development, gave way in 60s to a new era of "policy" plans. These plans emphasized the new social and economic concerns of the 60s and 70s, zeroing in on housing, education, poverty and center city concerns. Neighborhood planning and public participation became fashionable, as outgrowths of new consumerist attitudes and a shift toward ward rather than at-large representation following the new one-man one-vote mandate. Planning as a process tended to replace the plan as a goals statement. Zoning continued, of course, but more as a game with property owners and developers on one side and existing residents resisting change in their neighborhoods or suburban subdivisions on the other. Zoning still had relatively little to do with comprehensive planning. "Flexibility" in the form of special or conditional use permits, floating zones, planned unit developments (PUDs), and the like tended to replace rigid, traditional concepts of "the district," with its hard and fast dimensional and use restrictions.

What About Planning Present?

It isn't possible to generalize very much about the process of local government planning. This is a big country, and fortunately there remains plenty of room for experimentation. The typical American planning board is still most often an appointed advisory body to the governing board, and has little or no authority to tax, spend or regulate. It may have some administrative review responsibilities for subdivision approvals, urban renewal plans and PUDs, for example.

However, there is reason to believe that professional planners are beginning to re-focus on the physical, as opposed to social and economic, aspects of

urban development, or at least to bring them into better balance. Planners are a trendy lot, and many are now showing an interest in historic preservation. This is partly because of the convergence of the national Main Street programs with yet another "new" focus on reviving downtown and the inner city, and a relatively new concern in politics with issues like neighborhood quality and livability. At the same time, the old physical development-oriented "comprehensive plan" has returned, perhaps mostly as an outgrowth of interest in growth management technique. But now two new possibilities have appeared as candidates for inclusion in the comprehensive plan. One is the historic preservation plan (which sometimes reappears under another name, such as urban conservation), and the other is the urban design or townscape plan.

What Is A Preservation Plan?

The last round-dozen planners to whom I posed this question were unable to respond, making this a more important topic to address than it might at first appear. Both the concept and the process are very simple. Historic buildings and other cultural resources are located, mapped, photographed, and otherwise documented. Thereafter, they are evaluated against specified national, state or local criteria, and "listed" or "registered" as landmarks. Neighborhoods are surveyed, evaluated and registered in essentially the same way. Those that pass the test become eligible for special zoning or "historic district" designation. All of these measures are intended to protect them against destruction or inappropriate change through private or public action.

A "preservation plan", may be implemented through a series of actions:

First: The proposed preservation plan is officially adopted as a component of the official city plan by resolution or ordinance of the local governing board . It is at this time given the same official policy status as the land use, transportation, housing, and other elements of the comprehensive plan. A bill specifically encouraging such action will be presented to the 1989 North Carolina General Assembly for its educational or hortatory value, even though it is probably not needed from a legal standpoint.

What is important is that the adoption of a preservation element in the local plan should specify that in the unlikely event of conflict with other elements of the comprehensive plan, the historic preservation plan will take precedence.

Second: The adoption should be followed by an Executive Order of the mayor and/or manager, explicitly requiring each city department to give special attention to the needs of any historic resource under its jurisdiction.

Third: The adoption resolution should specify that all public projects, regardless of type, undertaken or permitted by the city (and/or the state or federal government) that might have an adverse effect on any listed historic resource will be subject to review and comment by the local planning agency.

Fourth: All private projects coming in for planning agency review by way of either a voluntary or regulatory process would receive the same scrutiny, with permits denied (where permitted) or appropriate conditions attached (again, where authorized). Very few of our local governments in North Carolina have NEPA [National Environmental Policy Act of 1969]-type regulations, which go beyond standard federal and state environmental impact statements. These can be quite effective if properly handled.

Fifth: The preservation plan would identify capital needs, for the local equivalent of the former federal Acquisition and Development grants to individuals, below market rate loans, or local revolving fund contributions. These are forms of preservation assistance through the front door. Local appropriations for general neighborhood improvement grants would also be appropriate. In this way, preservation projects become part of the long-term capital budget. Various forms of back-door tax deferral and abatement schemes would also have a place here.

Sixth: The plan would identify annual maintenance costs for things like streets, protective services, social services, schools, environmental improvements, recreation, tree care and management, and day care. These needs, met through the city's annual operating budget, would help improve the quality of life in historic neighborhoods or districts, even if they did not go directly to the fabric of old buildings.

Seventh: The two previous examples speak to the capital and operating costs that favor the needs of individual residents in historic neighborhoods. There will, however, always be a few buildings that would be better preserved if owned and maintained by the local government. A proper preservation plan would specifically identify these.

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Eighth: The preservation plan would identify appropriate areas where uncompensated regulation is the best approach. These fall into two broad categories. The first of these addresses the problems of building additions, infill, demolition, and new construction in historic neighborhoods - the sorts of regulation involved in what we

now accept as the "normal" design-review process for historic areas or structures. A second set of regulatory activities would deal with area zoning (intensity, use, off-street parking, etc.); health and sanitation; building construction and housing maintenance; the control of vacant lots; the care and maintenance of trees; undesirable land uses; earth moving and disturbance, and other activities best dealt with through regulation.

Ninth: The plan would identify special conservation areas or districts in which special planning and design efforts are needed to help them continue functioning. Many fine neighborhoods have been lost prematurely because their needs were not met at that critical point when they could have gone either way. I think of these types of areas as pre-natal historic districts that have a much broader base of associative values. As defined in another bill that will also be put up to the 1989 General Assembly, these are areas:

> "...that possess form, character, and visual qualities derived from arrangements or combinations of topography, vegetation, space, scenic vistas, architecture, appurtenant features, distinctive natural habitats, natural formations, or places of natural or cultural significance, that create an image of stability, comfort, local identity, and livable atmosphere."

Note that architecture is placed in a larger environmental context, and that history, as an associative value, is not specifically mentioned except as a place of "cultural" significance. Also worth noting is that these areas would not come in for any special regulations which were not already available in non-historic districts or areas.

What is significant about this plan element is that in concept and procedure it is essentially no different than other elements of the comprehensive plan - with one exception. The data base for most urban plans is basically public information. The preservation plan will have two elements that must be kept within the office. One is the location of archaeological resources, which must be protected from the depredations of treasure hunters with metal detectors. The other is the priority schedule that ranks buildings from high to low in order of importance. Experience tells us that to identify any building below grade one is, in effect, to issue a hunting license for it.

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Such a plan can stand as an independent local effort or activity; its greatest potential, however, is the strength it both borrows from and contributes to the urban general plan. There are certain dangers in other approaches to planning - for example, the currently fashionable "strategic planning" approach which singles out a discrete problem and runs with it to whatever "solution" is politically acceptable. This may win good publicity and make friends for planners, but it carries the seeds of opportunism and cooperation-with-the-inevitable that historic preservation in particular needs to shed.

Preservation Planning and the Federal Government

The national historic preservation program, which is managed by the National Park Service (NPS) in the Department of the Interior and State Historic Preservation Officers appointed by the governors in every state, is presently asking itself questions about the future of preservation planning. Internally, for purposes of planning federal and federally-subsidized or licensed projects, NPS evolved its own planning system that was as necessary as it was inevitable. Despite much controversy and conflict with the states, the system is firmly in place. Now the question is whether NPS should encourage local government preservation planning of the kind discussed in this article. Should federal funds be used to subsidize such planning? Should it force local governments to plan? All these options are possible. But there will be some real problems when the federal government becomes involved in any of them.

First, there will be an almost inevitable tendency for localities to automatically use the Register criteria, standards and planning procedures. Many local governments, either on their own or pursuant to state law, have already adopted these federal definitions and guidelines as the standard or trigger for other local actions. This has sometimes resulted in problems of appropriateness that are most charitably described as "horrendous."

Next, the concept of the "historic district" must be sorted out. Many cities and towns already have two or more types of historic districts, one a National Register historic district, the other a local zoning historic district. The boundaries of these districts are not necessary coterminous with one another and programmatically they are very different. One supports a local regulatory design review process; the other is part and parcel of a federal planning or environmental monitoring and mediation process. The "local" designation is aimed at regulating the design and construction, moving, and demolition of buildings through uncompensated regulations adopted by the city. Local property owners in one, another, or both districts cannot always understand why they qualify in one case and not the other. Nor can they contain themselves easily when they receive one decision regarding a certificate

of appropriateness to proceed with construction from a local historic district board, and another decision from the state and federal preservation apparatus regarding tax credit certification - especially when both applications are based on identical plans.

A parallel problem is that in any given town there may exist both National Register and National Historic Landmark buildings that may or may not match the list of those designated as landmarks pursuant to a local ordinance. The federal designation is aimed at protecting local buildings or environments from the harmful effects of federal projects via Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act, or providing federal tax benefits pursuant to the federal tax code. Confusion often reigns.

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A third problem is the American tradition, firmly established in state laws, of handing over the task of administering many local regulations involving the use of property to part-time volunteer officials appointed by the governing board. This is a very serious problem in smaller towns and other jurisdictions where professional planning, legal or other technical assistance is not readily available to the board. The result is often a pronounced tendency toward arbitrary or casual decisions, unaccompanied by the procedural assurances and documentation that the courts have come to insist upon when appeals are taken from local decisions. In many states, appeals from a local historic district or landmark decision would normally be to a court, and limited to procedural grounds alone. However, both the initial review and appeals on tax credit applications are made by full-time professionals in state historic preservation offices and in the regional and Washington offices of the National Park Service - not so much on procedural but on substantive and design grounds. In such a setting it is not at all surprising that a property owner might receive conflicting signals regarding the same project.

Still other problems are tied to this one. For example, the ultimate purpose of local historic district regulations is the preservation of the entire district or neighborhood, the *tout ensemble*. However, the Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Rehabilitation are not very helpful because they put almost all their emphasis on the individual building and have little to say about the larger environment. The point is that standards and guidelines prepared for one purpose by one level of government will often fail to work very well when applied to another purpose by another government.

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The state-local areas of tension and conflict are not very different from those afflicting the state-federal scene, and again are based as much on perceptions and attitudes as anything else. They stem from an infrequent but nonetheless real phenomenon called "help from above." Whether perceived down the line as mere paternalism or as an exercise of raw authority from a superior, the consequences can be both serious and lasting. The conflict originates, in many instances, in state laws providing for state review or approval of many local preservation regulatory activities or state grant-in-aid projects. In all these situations, local preservationists and property owners tend to be impatient, and to find the required reviews and approvals slow, tedious, and picky. The local attitude about this problem is summed up in the much-worn aphorism still heard often at local preservation meetings, "The federal government has the money, the states have the power, and the local governments have the problems." You have all heard the three greatest lies: "The check is in the mail;" "Yes, darling, I will respect you in the morning;" and,"I'm from the federal government and I'm here to help you."

The Outlook

It is too early to tell what will come of the new Certified Local Government program. It remains to be seen, for example, whether the states, who have been saying "trust us" to the managers of the federal program, can develop a comparable degree of trust toward local preservation efforts. States must freely delegate to cities and counties the real authority and responsibility they will need under the expanded partnership. It is also no secret that local politics can be even more intense and manipulative than those at state and federal levels. Consequently, the outlook for local preservation planning, and policy decisions based on sheer rationality is even less positive than elsewhere, notwithstanding the extra federal money allocated under the program to pay for professional services.

The designation of conservation areas is a new approach which will spawn some other problems. In conservation areas, the time span required to achieve "significance" is compressed. Conservation areas are not

limited to neighborhoods of obvious age, certifiable historic importance or architectural value, but include places that are merely middle-aged and which have only begun to acquire or display the patina of age. The essential associative values have as much to do with the landscape, pathways and spatial structure of the place as with the buildings, and the design guidelines are more likely to be derived from the work of designers like Christopher Alexander than any architectural style book. The emphasis is on creating respected and familiar places to be used and enjoyed by people. The hope for such districts is that if it is protected early enough, an area of merely potential importance by traditional norms will one day qualify, as one writer has put it, as a "genuine" historic district. These are the types of areas I described above as "pre-natal" historic districts. The British now have more than 5,000 of them in place as an outgrowth of the Civic Amenities Act of 1966.

Old pros in the preservation movement, brought up on early editions of Sir Banister Fletcher's *History of Architecture on the Comparative Method*, decry such modernist approaches that de-emphasize buildings. It is not surprising to hear the plea of historians to "put the history back in historic preservation." Others belittle the alliance between preservation and planning. Each innovation has its detractors. But just as the American preservation movement of 1966 was not that of the time of Ann Pamela Cunningham and Mount Vernon, so it is not today what it was in 1966.

The concept of America as the "Melting Pot" had begun to disappear by 1966, and a new emphasis on separatism, ethnic pride and distinct racial identity had begun to appear.

The new focus on preserving "people-values" poses special problems. Not only has the American preservation movement been opened up and democratized since 1966, it has added a social conscience to its traditional concern for the physical world and material culture. It poses some very fundamental questions for the preservation movement.

First, as mentioned earlier,the concept of America as the "Melting Pot" had begun to disappear by the time of the 1966 Act, and a new emphasis on separatism, ethnic pride and distinct racial identity had begun to appear. This revisionist approach to history and to preservation was seen as a challenge to the traditional American cultural expectation of an long-term, evolutionary national cultural homogeneity. Many probably still see it as a challenge to national unity as well. The ethnic history, settlement and character of neighborhoods has always been a factor of significance in National Register district nominations, although not a dominant one. The Little Italys and Chinatowns of the country are the obvious examples. The increasing importance of ethnicity as an associative value of was facilitated by the emergence of thematic and multiple-resource nomination procedures during the mid-70s. Presently, it is estimated, there are approximately 250 National Register districts having ethnic character, and 1,000 individual nominations of like kind.

The planning process presents even more troublesome issues when we seek to preserve ethnicity as well as physical fabric. At what point does an ethnic neighborhood lose its integrity as a specially designated and protected place? When the original population dies or disappears, or when it is diluted by newcomers to the point where the characteristics that led to its designation no longer exist? Must such a neighborhood or district maintain a certain percentage of certifiably ethnic residents to maintain its "eligibility?" What percentage? Who decides? And most troubling of all is the potential for such standards to operate in the manner of a quota system which attempts to determine which minorities have been the first and worst sufferers. It has been said that attempting to put social policy in place through planning and regulatory measures is roughly equivalent to trying to nail a chiffon pie to a wall. In this area there clearly remain unresolved issues to which neither the preservation community nor any level or unit of government has yet to find acceptable answers.

How about the intangible cultural heritage, which some say we should better address? Tough decisions are involved in any new emphasis on people and lifeways. Social impact assessments under the National Environ-

Wilmington, N.C. This house has fallen victim to neighborhood deterioration. The designation of "conservation areas" is an effort to help prevent the decline of potentially important areas, deferring judgement on their value to future generations.

mental Policy Act are not a new idea; "cultural equity" is an important concept. Yet the question arises of what is possible, as well as questions about what government should do. Local governments have a tough enough time with buildings. There were objections to listing the black historic district East Wilson, N.C. at a recent meeting of the state professional review committee for National Register nominations. The underlying problem is the old one: Should government limit itself to protecting the system and providing equal access to it, or should it go beyond this and attempt to equalize the opportunities for politically favored constituencies? Can it do so for anyone without destroying opportunity for everyone? These issues have a way of arising in disguised form at local budgetary or zoning variance hearings. Yet these questions all do influence local planning and preservation planning, whether they are recognized or not.

Some of the problems are fundamental. For example, there may be a substantial question as to whether the zoning-enabling legislation in the 50 states and territories would have to be amended to include social and ethnic concerns as a proper basis for historic district or landmark designation. Most enabling acts specifically address themselves to the physical corpus of neighborhoods and districts, and not to their ethnic and social fabric. Whether individual state courts would support such a move, accustomed as they are to justifying historic district legislation on grounds of aesthetics, the maintenance of property values, tourism and the like, is also open to question.

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This is another way of stating the obvious: that each political jurisdiction will have its own priorities, and that at any level of government support for preservation comes down to a question of whether the underlying votes are those of reasonably well-off white Anglos, whose basic needs for food, shelter, and education are already met, or whether they are the votes are those of minority interests or the ethnic poor on the lower rungs of the economic ladder to whom a job and a roof are the highest priorities.

Development and real estate industry interests presently support preservation. But as others have pointed out, it is the money that counts, and that support is not necessarily enduring. For reasons having everything to do with interest rate changes and technical distinctions between passive and earned income appearing in the 1986 tax reform law, and nothing to do with historic preservation, applications for tax act certifications are already off by 50% or more in 1987. The political reality is that historic preservation itself has always been - and will probably always remain - the frosting on the political cake in almost every political venue. It will remain so unless and until the preservation movement can bring the business and the social implications of preservation into better focus for both politicians and the public. Much has been done since 1966, but this still remains as the principal incomplete task before us.

Planning Is Changing, Too . . .

Until recently, the administration of land use controls and growth management schemes was seen as a local matter, best approached through zoning, annexation, and extraterritorial land development controls. These familiar techniques are all based on powers delegated to local governments by the state. This is changing, if not rapidly, at least steadily, and we find an increasing number of states that are in effect repossessing conservation and development controls from local authorities. This is especially common in coastal and other environmentally sensitive areas, and in situations where new developments are regarded as so large or substantial as to have region-wide impacts. It is clear that within a decade or so many local regulatory and public investment programs will be turned over by the states to regional planning authorities or shared with them. These changes will happen whether or not the preservation community wishes them to, and preservation is going to have to learn to be effective at these new levels .

Most county governments are rural governments with extensive obligations and limited resources.

There has been much good preservation work at regional levels already. The Georgia State Preservation office has provided technical preservation assistance for many years to localities throughout the state through regional planning agencies. In an increasing number of states we find cultural resources inventories and surveys becoming more important as aspects of regional land use planning efforts. Vermont, Florida, California, Kentucky and others have begun in recent years to approach growth management and planning, with historic preservation as an important component, on a regional basis.

Preserving rural areas and landscapes has already emerged as one of the most essential but difficult of all preservation tasks. The heart of this problem is that the outlook for the profitable, adaptive use of many important

rural buildings and landscapes ranges from poor to terrible throughout the country. The planning and regulatory jurisdiction of cities does not reach easily into rural areas, and most county governments in the United States are rural governments with extensive obligations and limited fiscal, technical and administrative resources. They also have fundamentally different views about land use regulation, preservation and outside visitors than are to be found in cities.

Rural governments are faced with heavy burdens of responsibility for schools, roads, care of the poor, and other basic services, yet they often lack the prosperity, tax base or federal subsidies to deal with them. Thus, as a general rule, they must be considered unlikely partners in the preservation endeavor. Worse, federal programs and policies seriously adverse to preservation are still in effect in rural areas. County planning is quite different from city planning, and recognition of those differences is essential if the federal government is going to reach out to rural areas.

If my assumption that the content of local programs will change in time to incorporate new notions about "culture" and "heritage" proves correct, and the concept of designating conservation areas takes off, local planning and preservation programs will be in the difficult position of having to follow two seemingly divergent paths at the same time. One will be to maintain the integrity of the traditional lists and the listing process, and to maintain established norms of artistic, design and craft tradition in buildings. At the same time, national, state and local preservation programs will all have to display increased sensitivity to changing concepts of significance that have less to do with maintaining the artistic and stylistic integrity of buildings than they do with enhancing the quality of the larger environment for daily living. This is not to say that one objective may be substituted for the other; both will have to be pursued at the same time.

Deciding What to Save

As the scope of things worth preserving is broadened, this task will have to be approached with special care . Choosing something to be preserved is a relatively easy matter when you are down to the last surviving Greek revival building in the county. It is more difficult when the local inventory contains more than 50 Art Deco buildings and the politics or the economics of the situation permit the listing of only 10. Not only will the range of important historic resources be more inclusive stylistically, but the supply of resources may be more plentiful and the choices more difficult. And as the concept of significance broadens, as surely it will, to include, for example, ethnic values, the choices to be made will be increasingly influenced by political factors and less by scholarly ones. As programs expand to encompass intangible cultural resources, difficult choices will have to be exercised to choose the best fiddlers from all those up the valley. Complex judgments involving skills not possessed by the traditional custodians of our existing preservation machinery will be required to decide which cultural, scenic or historic landscapes should be singled out for special treatment.

This brings us to some of the potential legal problems. First, preserving anything sooner or later involves some element of public expenditure, public regulation, or other governmental process affecting citizens and their traditional rights to reasonable freedom in the use of their property. There is a level of importance, termed "public purpose," by state and federal constitutions (a phrase ultimately to be interpreted by the courts), that must be attained before public subsidy or intervention will be tolerated. If it is decided, for example, that a particular rural landscape is to be preserved in part through regulation, there must be compelling evidence of a public purpose or benefit. Translated, this means that there must be strong and demonstrable public support for any actions of the preservation community. Presently, neither the public nor the courts would be easily persuaded that a 1950s diner or roadside tourist cabin is worth preserving through regulation or public subsidy. Much of the public still sees preservationists as wanting to "save everything," thus educational efforts and campaigns aimed at gathering public support for preservation are no less necessary now than they were in 1966. They will be even more important as time goes on.

...preservation programs will have to display increased sensitivity to...enhancing the quality of the larger environment for daily living.

The basic purpose of any well-grounded planning system, whatever the effort, is to ensure that program goals and objectives remain in sight and to serve as a point of reference against which progress toward those goals can be met. A planning system becomes even more important in the political process of allocating scarce dollars "fairly" to all the players in the game. The Resource Protection Planning Process (recently renamed "comprehensive planning"), about which so much controversy has swirled in recent years, is an excellent start in the right direction for both purposes. However, any federal planning process - especially one that may be extended to become the basis for local preservation planning - must recognize and respect not only the tender political situation of the state historic preservation office, but the increasingly important role of political decision-making at the local level.

In short, the process must also accept the need for a substantial degree of freedom from the constraints of the plan. If it is to be useful, it must recognize that once past national historic landmarks, what is worth saving can only be defined by local preferences, with or without the help of scholarly or expert judgment. Both federal and state governments still have much to learn about trusting the judgment of local people. Perhaps what local people believe should be preserved should be preserved, whether or not local preferences fit neatly into the preconceived historical themes or study units prescribed by planners.

Potential Stumbling Blocks

A major challenge at the local level will be to hold the line regarding owner consent for listing. Ours is virtually the only preservation system in the world that gives preference to the wishes of the temporary owner rather than to expert scholarly judgment. But the underlying issue, I sometimes think, has less to do with expertise than with trust. The American political system simply does not yet repose full or sole trust in government-paid experts. An argument can be made that the best answer lies not with allowing the experts to make the judgment for some purposes and the owner for others, as at present, but with the establishment of a process in which both the owner, the experts, and perhaps the community itself arrive at a collective or consensus judgment.

There is a special aspect of local planning where any support from any source would be most welcome, in my opinion. That is the special educational needs of preservation commission members in matters related to legal procedure and design decision-making. This problem has been discussed for many years and little has been done about it. The national organizations with responsibilities in this area have simply not produced what is required, given the insistence of the courts for ever higher standards of performance in procedural matters. Since the number of design review boards and commissions tends to double once each decade, we fall further and further behind.

Another local challenge that must be faced is to do a better job with local regulatory programs. If, in the future, public funding for preservation, direct or indirect , is going to be harder to come by, it stands to reason that we are increasingly dependent on the less expensive alternatives of planning and uncompensated regulation. We now have many more zoning historic districts than in 1966, but their administration is not necessarily better. Still, the inherent weaknesses in the American regulatory approach are no different than elsewhere around the world. The most obvious weakness is that the process is essentially benign; nothing happens until the owner needs a permit to do something on the property. Hardship variances are often too easy to obtain, the regulations typically cannot go inside the building to save valuable interiors, and all too often, design standards and criteria are mindlessly copied from one place to another without regard for the local situation. An even more troubling problem stems from the exasperatingly high procedural standards demanded by the courts of a quasi-judicial agency to be met by local boards composed of part-time, volunteer lay citizens. Again, the principal unmet need in this area is for extensive and continuing training.

The focus of the preservation movement has changed over time with society's interests. In the early 60s, much of the focus was on the dwellings of the influential, and the beautification of the city. Many buildings which did not meet these criteria were removed under the name of urban renewal.

..support from any source would be most welcome, in [addressing] the special educational needs of preservation commission members in matters related to legal procedure and design decision-making.

The task presented by landmark and historic district regulations of merely reviewing and responding to the proposals of individual owners is essentially negative. One would hope that this could eventually take a more positive turn and, as suggested earlier, begin to feed into the public investment and day to day environmental maintenance operations of local governments. The likelihood of this will depend on the extent to which these independent preservation agencies or commissions can be brought into the local government family.

Local preservation programs must not only come into the family, but also become more aggressive partners in the local land use planning process. At the same time preservationists must demand more of the local planning departments themselves. For example, one glaring area of weakness has been the failure to require developers to identify, and take archaeological and historic sites into account in site design, and engineering plans, before construction takes place. In almost every state this is simply a matter of will, requiring no additional enabling authority.

The advance disclosure and review process of plans for public projects now reaches down to cover many state funded and licensed projects, but it needs to reach still further to cover local projects. This is the last gap. Unfortunately, local governments themselves, along with churches and universities, still tend to be the constant enemies of preservation. Thus, the 1974 provision of the CDBG program which designated the local government beneficiary as the responsible federal official for environmental review purposes, effectively puts the fox in charge of the chickens. This will have to change.

Where Do We Go from Here?

Clearly, we are at a critical juncture. It seems to me, on the basis of the evidence presented, that there are limits to federal involvement in local planning. The country is too big and local circumstances entirely too diverse for anything more than general advice and for technical and financial support for whatever local preservation planning the local people see fit to undertake. There can be no hoops to jump through, no "conditions" on financial assistance.

By the same token, I don't see the kind of assistance needed coming from the state historic preservation offices. Most of them are already overworked and underfunded, and, in any case, have little expertise or experience to contribute to the land use planning process at the local level.

In my opinion, that which could be usefully provided by the federal government is limited. The best possibilities include federal subsidies for training courses carried out by state agencies expert in planning matters and procedures in each state and demonstration studies of the kind we saw 20 years ago in Providence and New Orleans. The old HUD Section 701 Planning Assistance Program from the Housing Act of 1954 may have some value, since there are some strong parallels between the kinds of local planning efforts turned out by that program and what is needed in the way of preservation planning at the local level today. There may be a role for the National Trust, although this seems to me unlikely; the Advisory Council for Historic Preservation may be better placed.

In all, I feel that this is an area where restraint on the part of the federal government must be exercised. We must recognize the overriding interest of having preservation planning done at the initiative of local governments, and support them both in word and deed as we go forth in the name of preservation.□

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Vernacular Architecture and the Preservation of Local Cultural Identity

John C. Larson

One indication of the evolution of the preservation movement is the increased attention paid to gas stations, bungalows and humble farm houses, often termed "vernacular" resources. To those more accustomed to the idea of preserving sites linked to great American heros and events, this shift may seem bewildering. Here, Larson describes the forces which have broadened the field's focus and presents a framework with which communities can understand and work with the resources that strengthen their individual cultural identity.

Introduction

The proposed site for the Rowan County landfill meets strong opposition from local preservation organizations because it threatens the unoccupied mid 19th-century Mingus farmstead; the local historic properties commission of Winston-Salem vigorously defends five two-story commercial buildings built in the 1900s that stand on the proposed site of a new multi-million dollar transportation center; a state-wide preservation group steps in and obtains the option to save an abandoned 1909 peanut mill in Edenton. These are but three of hundreds of similar occurrences across the state of North Carolina in which preservationists are rallying behind seemingly nondescript and non-historical buildings with a fervor that used to be reserved for homes of presidents and other American heroes. When queried as to the value of these buildings, inevitably the term "vernacular style" appears in the justification that is given for the structure's preservation. People who have long considered themselves sympathetic to historic preservation often come away from such an encounter quite bewildered.

The examples above force an examination of a number of questions. What has happened in the historic preservation movement to generate so much interest in mill housing, industrial buildings, 1930s bungalow neighborhoods, tobacco barns and other such ordinary buildings? What has happened in architectural appreciation that even the most unadorned structure is now studied so intensely? What is meant by the term "vernacular architecture?" And, finally, why should it be considered in planning the development of communities?

Changing Attitudes

It was but a few years ago that architectural study and appreciation was pretty straightforward. Prized buildings were easily recognizable - they were either very old, such as the works of ancient civilizations, or monumental triumphs of engineering or design talents. Obvious examples of buildings meeting these criteria range from pyramids to cathedrals and on to modern skyscrapers. European, Mediterranean and Far Eastern civilizations hold claim to the oldest and grandest architecture created by man. American architecture in the early years could not, and in many ways still cannot, compete as an equal in this arena. The United States had not the age, the economic base nor the social temperament to do more than emulate and modify the full-blown styles of Europe. America, however, would develop an architectural appreciation at the popular level based on a different set of standards, encompassing historical and artistic factors.

Historic Factors

Although America's early architecture was less grand in scale and less ornate than her international prototypes in the nineteenth century, it nonetheless became a symbol of the American democratic system, the nation's aspirations and its way of life. In 1856, Ann Pamela Cunningham, a determined woman from Charleston, South Carolina, launched the movement to preserve architecture of national historic significance in America with her campaign to save Mount Vernon. In so doing, she created a new way of appreciating the architecture in this country. The criterion for saving Mount Vernon was not its age, grand scale or quality of artistic achievement. Rather, it was the building's historical association with a great American hero, George Washington, that gave it value. With this movement, the appreciation of architecture became more locally relevant even when the emphasis was history at the national level. The homes of the early presidents, sites of major battles or the locations of important national events were the ones considered most

worthy of preservation efforts. In those communities that lacked the home of an American hero, the people looked for a site that had been visited by one. The emphasis was on the single building and a strong association with an individual of national significance. For most of these sites, the method of preserving the building was by converting it into a museum or shrine. Over the years, this philosophy of preservation has become deeply implanted in the American mind and architectural preservation for many remains singularly linked to places of great men and great national events.[1]

Another 70 years would pass before the emphasis on preserving the homes of our national heroes would begin to shift. In the 1920s, work began on an expanded edition of this significance-by-association theme. The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, with strong financial backing from John D. Rockefeller, Jr., would carry this preservation philosophy to its logical limits. There the focus was not on a single building or site, but on the entire town and not exclusively on the single hero, but on a whole cast of players. Initially, Williamsburg's significance was tied to a national historic perspective, but the scope of its interpretation was broadened to encompass the whole celebration of America's movement from colonial status to a free and democratic nation. To accomplish this charge, the great men of history again took front stage but increasingly the "extras" of the cast began to come into their own. These common folk - the blacksmith, the cooper, the slave, and the mid-wife - became increasingly important elements needed to complete the complex picture of early American life. Their day-to-day life style, including the buildings they occupied, were an essential part of this broader study. Herein lie the seeds of interest in vernacular architecture.

During the years that followed, dozens of projects were launched which were modeled after Williamsburg. Old Sturbridge Village, Old Salem, Historic Deerfield and the various Shaker settlements are but a few of the many such museum villages. Often they attempted to replicate the historical associative themes found at Williamsburg. If no actual celebrated personages and events were present at a particular site, the general themes of democracy and the moral values of the early American life experiences were highlighted, again within the national context. Out of this movement, however, continued to grow the increased focus on the lifestyle and architecture of the common folk. This attention to the cultural mainstream would gradually shift some of the field's emphasis away from famous men and

Ordinary working places, such as these buildings on Fifth Street in Winston-Salem, have often been overlooked by the preservation movement. Yet, these are the very types of buildings that hold the key to understanding the past lifestyle of the majority of people in a community.

events at the national level down to the local level.

In the 1960s, the federal government, and subsequently state and local governments, began to make a major commitment to historic preservation. Through various pieces of legislation, several types of economic incentives were established, a variety of regulations and safeguards were enacted, and programs were initiated to identify historic structures and sites.[2] These laws reflected an increased shift in attitude of architectural appreciation away from the historic shrines. The new awareness was based on a blending of respect for earlier styles and craftsmanship, a greater appreciation of local history and the recognition that there was a real economic investment in older structures that could and should be capitalized upon today. Driven in part by the rehabilitation tax incentives, preservationists paid new attention to buildings that had previously been ignored because they lacked the aura of direct national historic significance. Victorian, bungalow and mill village neighborhoods would spring back to life as people discovered the livability of older buildings. To a large degree, these activities moved historic preservation out from the museums and onto the main streets and neighborhoods all across America.

Artistic Factors

As preservation moved into the 1970s, the reuse of older buildings became an increasingly vital thread woven into the cultural fabric of towns. These efforts created a unique sense of place for individual communities. Architecture became a visual statement - in a sense, outdoor advertising - of what makes one place different from another and special to the folks who live there. Much of the focus during this period was on the best and brightest artistically - the purest, the most ornate, or the last surviving example.

If a problem has arisen from this entrance of preservation into the economic mainstream, it is that historical reality has often been obscured in the quest for an aesthetic ideal. The value of a building has been based more on its appearance than on any statement it might make about the local history of a place. This emphasis on "the look" of a building to gage its potential contribution to the community has seriously skewed the perception of what is appropriate to be preserved. Artistic biases have been put into place. Like fashion, certain standards of acceptable appearance come into vogue that have no foundation in the local experience of individual communities. The result is a reduction in the value of any local architecture that does not fit neatly into the mold. Thus some buildings have been "fixed up" or "gentrified" to satisfy this artistic dictate beyond the point of honest historical treatment. This beautification may be required in part for old buildings to compete in the economic market, but it has confused artistic trends with historical reality. With this "beautiful is better" attitude, it is not surprising to find disdain among some of those who consider themselves preservationists when the banner is raised to protect ordinary or plain architecture. This ordinary architecture is of course the ubiquitous "vernacular."

In the past decade, an increasingly subtle and sophisticated appreciation of the built environment has evolved out of this growing awareness of the value of local history. It is a history that is illustrated by vernacular architectural styles. Architecture, then, is more than a pretty face; like other historical documents, it has much to tell us about the past.[3]

This Shell Gas Station, listed on the National Register for Historic Places, is an icon of a specific place and time. The best window for viewing the everyday life of the past is through its everyday architecture.

The Vernacular in North Carolina

North Carolina is an architecturally unique state. When driving through the state, it is difficult to believe that it is the nation's 10th largest in population. Where are all these people? The fact is that North Carolina is a state of small towns and cities. Since only five cities have a population exceeding 100,000, no single urban center has dominated the state architecturally. Consequently, numerous towns of roughly equivalent size have developed

their own identities. Many of the buildings and main streets of these towns share a common style or feeling, yet remain distinctively different. It is obvious that they are all speaking with the same architectural vocabulary, yet the arrangement of the words and the accents are different. North Carolina is a state of vernacular buildings: buildings individually significant at the local level and collectively important to the identity of the state. It is this rich variation that makes the North Carolina cultural landscape so unique. Because no town dominates the state, towns across North Carolina can take equal pride in their home-grown architectural accomplishments. Thus, when the question of preservation arises, it is essential that the significance of the building be understood in its local

To fully comprehend the influence of agriculture on the mind of the South, the ante-bellum farmstead must be put into proper perspective. The full range of examples from that agrarian experience need to be preserved.

context. Although it may have some state-wide or even national appeal, ultimately it is the local significance that is the most fundamental.

Mingus Farm, Rowan County

By returning to the three examples that were cited at the outset, much can be gleaned on the character and value of vernacular architecture. When Rowan County needed a landfill, the 195-acre Mingus Farm tract seemed to be the best location. Although the 1850s farm had been highlighted in a recently published inventory of significant North Carolina architecture, the site, with its unpainted and unoccupied building, seemed to have insufficient historical or artistic value to warrant any special preservation effort. A landfill on the site was a higher prioirity than the value of retaining such a common place. To the County Commissioners, the farm simply was not significant enough to merit a place in the preservation plan of a county that had built a national reputation for its historic preservation activities.

The Mingus Farm provides an excellent example of aesthetic bias, seen through the popular perception of the rural landscape of the ante-bellum South. For years, the moonlight and magnolia mythology has perpetuated an image of the white columned mansion at the end of a long avenue of stately oaks. A row of slave dwellings stands a discreet distance from the house. It is a difficult image for North Carolinians to live up to, for in most places it simply did not exist. What did exist in great abundance were the small farmsteads, like the Mingus Farm in Rowan County, that were optimistically called plantations by their owners. This historical reality has been obscured. It has been romanticized for a variety of reasons by fostering the fantasy that something noble and glorious was lost in the South after the Civil War.

Perhaps, however, there is an equally noble story to be told in the true history of agriculture and the agrarian traditions of the state. It is a culture that is now under tremendous pressure. How is it to be properly understood if Tara is the prototype image? In 1987, the Mingus Farm was placed on the National Register of Historic Places by the Department of the Interior. Although litigation concerning the landfill continues, it now appears that the site is ineligible for use as a landfill based on its historical significance.

Fifth Street, Winston-Salem

The same type of aesthetic bias is evident in the case of five commercial buildings in Winston-Salem that were designated for demolition in order to provide space for the city's proposed transit center. These simple buildings, the working places of bakers, shopkeepers and merchants, stand as icons to a significant part of the community's experience. The five buildings were constructed during the period when the town was rapidly becoming the largest city in the state. These were boom times, fueled by the tobacco industry. Economic development occurred at all levels; thus, at the same time as the R.J. Reynolds Company was building its skyscraper, economic vitality also manifested itself in the development of these more typical storefronts.

The continued onward rush of the city's prosperity eventually caused the demolition of much that was built in

this early period, but these few buildings survive to tell of that transition from a small boom town to a large city. Like the Mingus Farm in Rowan County, the challenge here is to not bias the presentation of local history by failing to acknowledge the presence of these once common places that constituted the majority of the living and working places of the community. Appreciating this concern, the local governing board ultimately removed the site from consideration and selected a vacant lot for the construction of the transit center.

The Edenton Peanut Mill

In Edenton stands the five-story brick Peanut Mill, constructed in 1909. With its office, engine room and elevator tower, there is no mistaking this structure for anything but a working place. Although its design speaks clearly of its earlier function, in a broader context today, the mill symbolizes the changing fortune of an activity that once was pivotal to the community.

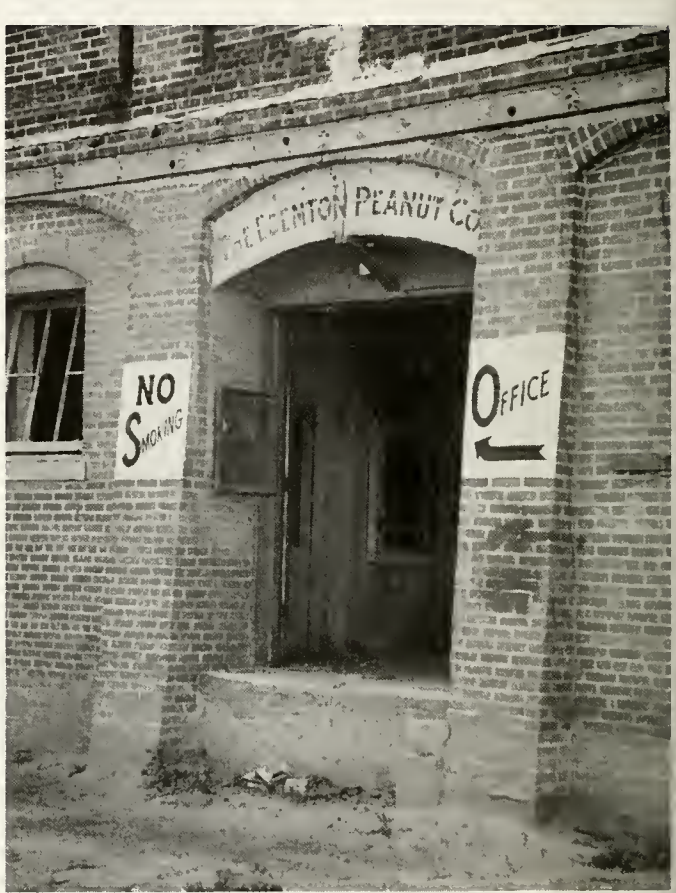
In its heyday, Edenton was the second largest peanut market in the United States. In addition, this sturdy industrial building depicts the strong agricultural tradition of the region and the type of architecture it spawned. For Edenton, which saw its star as the first colonial capital fade and other ports on the coast take its trade, the peanut mill operation is a vivid statement of the staying power and adaptability of the community through time.

Interestingly, the town has survived long enough that it can now capitalize on its historic character. The peanut mill is neither the oldest nor the most stylish building in Edenton, but the Historic Preservation Foundation of North Carolina realized how important this building was in the social and architectural history of the town. The structure tangibly illustrates an important chapter in the history of the community, and in order that this history be remembered and properly understood, it had to be saved. With local support, the Historic Preservation Foundation is now working toward the mill's preservation and adaptive reuse.

Understanding the Vernacular

In trying to understand the relationship between the kind of people that inhabit a particular area and the kind of physical environment they build, the answer must be sought at the local level. The value of vernacular architecture is that it draws its identity and its character from the rich cultural diversity that conceived it. Thus, each place is different and each forges its own special identity over time.

The architectural development of a given place is influenced by a variety of factors: the availability of different types of building materials, the skill level of the craftsmen, and the considerations for public health and safety which are often packaged in the form of zoning ordinances. Largely, however, it is the "cultural baggage" or the concept of what is a suitable building that determines what gets built and how. These decisions are made at the most personal level. They are made by the farmer in the fields of a new farmstead and small merchants on the streets of a growing community, who are all seeking to satisfy a variety of concerns and subliminal needs. The study of vernacular buildings is truly multi-faceted, but its primary concern is the study of local history and the forces that influenced it.



Industrial buildings represent a tremendous investment of material and time both during construction and subsequent operation. This investment results in a lingering presence in the minds of the local population, even if the original use has ceased.

The significance of the vernacular structure rests on the fact that at one time it was built as part of the cultural mainstream of a given area. As such, it was not conceived as a monument to posterity nor revered by those who built it. No doubt there was great pride in the accomplishment, but its function was most likely of greater concern. These were good buildings, built the way good buildings should or could be built.[4]

When planners and preservationists give aesthetic consideration the highest priority, the simplicity reflected in local design is often perceived as a liability or shortcoming. It is hazardous, however, to pass judgment on the value of a building's contribution to a community's history based on its appearance alone. As with the old country boy who comes to the city, don't be fooled into thinking that someone is a simpleton because he doesn't speak your language. You don't speak his either. Similarly, a town with simple architecture is not necessarily an uncomplicated place.

The recent drive toward the homogenization of architectural standards based on artistic criteria is a great disservice and is as constricting as the earlier national historic associative criteria. As vernacular studies are showing, seemingly simple buildings are the product of complex cultural, technological and environmental factors. By identifying these buildings as unique products of their own specific time and place, and by understanding the social and historical forces that generated them, the true identity of a community begins to emerge. The differences become increasingly apparent between the university towns of Durham and Chapel Hill, or the sand hills towns of Goldsboro and Fayetteville. The differences are still apparent between Winston and Salem, although they were officially united in 1913.

Working with the Vernacular

Under the broadest definition of vernacular architecture, little seems to be excluded. How then is this resource to be realistically managed? Certainly everything cannot be preserved, but something must be done to prevent this type of cultural resource from being yet another item irretrievably tossed onto the trash heap of expendable fashion. There are things that need to be done.

Learn

Know what is there before it is given up. Be cautious about devaluating a building because it is "out of style." Like most fashions, architectural style has a cyclical movement. A new building, for example, will meet certain functional and stylistic requirements at the time of its construction. After about 30 years, its style may become "dated," its mechanical systems obsolete and maintenance an increasingly important concern. The structure then enters its "death zone." During this period, additional investment must be made or the building will eventually be demolished.

It is during this vulnerable period that the earlier contribution made by this building and its potential for further contribution is often overlooked. This ignorance can threaten a building's survival. If it can manage to survive, however, there is usually a point when the building is once again appreciated - like the wide tie or the mini-dress. Previously, the magic number seemed to be 100 years old, although it appears that 50 years is becoming the new threshold.

Some communities which have not had the economic power to replace their architecture every 30 years now find themselves in possession of an exceptionally rich cultural resource. Others must settle for wall murals on fast food restaurants to remind them of their cultural legacy. For some, no trace remains. The Survey and Planning Branch of the Department of Archives and History is currently attempting to inventory the architecture of each county in North Carolina. This type of listing and the concurrent research is essential if wise judgments are to be made on how to manage vernacular resources.

Plan

If the resource is identified and recorded, informed decisions can then be made on what it means to the community and how best to accentuate it. The simplest thing to do is to avoid doing anything that would encourage the demolition or radical alteration of the building. It was not long ago that under the banner of beautification and urban renewal many useful and historic buildings were demolished. This was a callous, short-sighted program that gave little consideration to its long-term historical and cultural impact. Quick-fix appearance solutions also often do more harm than good. Besides being basically incompatible, the new structures quickly become stylistically out-dated themselves. The challenge for community leaders is to resist the tendency developed by this disposable society to throw out and start anew instead of retaining things of value long enough for them to be appreciated again.

Positive programs have been developed by municipalities throughout the state that foster historic preservation on Main Street and in neighborhoods.[5] Enabling legislation permits the establishment of historic districts and historic properties commissions to encourage the protection of historic resources.[6] Currently, some relief from property taxes is authorized under this legislation. Most recently, the contribution of agrarian and rural landscapes to urban quality of life is being recognized. In Forsyth County, for example, new economic incentives are being created to compensate some farmers who are willing to give up a development covenant on their land.

Conclusion

On reflection, it is not surprising that historic preservation has now developed an interest in vernacular architecture. The popularization of preservation has forced a rethinking of the type of architecture worthy of

Interest in vernacular architecture has grown with the "return to the city" movement. Entire neighborhoods of vernacular homes, such as these bungalows, have flourished under this appreciation of common places.

preservation and the role it plays in the development of a community's cultural identity. The trend over the years has been away from the international, moving increasingly toward a heightened interest in the local variations.

For the state of North Carolina, it is essential to break out of the traditional mold when devising a preservation strategy. It is the rich variety of vernacular buildings that defines the state. There are now rapid changes in the demographics and the landscape. In this onward rush, some of the stepping stones should be saved to remind North Carolinians that they differ from Virginians and South Carolinians; that Charlotte is not a transformed Atlanta or Columbia; and that in an age of homogenization, strength of individual identity is still obtainable at the local level via the built environment. Vernacular architecture is a primary element in the preservation of that local cultural identity. □

Footnotes

1. *Presence of the Past* by Charles B. Hosmer, Jr., published by G. P. Putnam's Sons in 1965, provides an excellent history of the early preservation movement in the United States.

2. The key piece of legislation is the Historic Preservation Act of 1966. This act would be amended over time, but provides the basis of environmental review, tax incentives and the National Register Program.

3. In 1980, the Vernacular Architectural Forum was organized to encourage the study and preservation of all aspects of vernacular architecture and landscape through interdisciplinary methods. The organization's address is P.O. Box 283, Annapolis, MD 21401.

4. There is an increasing array of excellent literature on various aspects of vernacular architecture. One of the better works published recently is *Common Places*, edited by Dell Upton and John M. Vlach, University of Georgia Press, 1986.

5. The Main Street Program was initially developed by the National Trust for Historic Preservation, 1785 Massachusetts Avenue, NW, Washington, D.C., 20036, and has generated excellent resource material from successful projects across the country. North Carolina's program is currently administered by the Division of Community Assistance in the Department of Natural Resources and Community Development. To date, 25 towns across the state have participated in the Main Street program.

6. Historic districts are authorized under S.L.160-395 through 399, commonly known as the Old Salem Act. Historic properties commissions are authorized under the 1979 enactment of S.L.160A-399.1 through .13.

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Art, History and Public Space: Buster Simpson on Stewardship

Edited by
Elizabeth Morton

The following article is drawn from Buster Simpson's Keynote Speech at the Preservation by Design conference, supplemented by personal interviews. The Seattle artist has received national acclaim for his efforts on collaborative design teams involved in revitalizing neighborhoods and enhancing public spaces. The three projects Simpson describes here demonstrate the way in which his artistic sensibility expands the traditional scope of urban planning and preservation.

PIKE PLACE PUBLIC MARKET

In November of 1971, the citizens of Seattle passed a "Save the Market" referendum, to protest the City of Seattle's proposed Pike Place Urban Renewal Project. This initiative created the Market Historic District and established a 12-member appointive Historic District Commission. The market is now managed by a quasi-public Preservation and Development Authority. Simpson has served on the Pike Place Market Historic District Commission since 1983, and has acted as Chair of Design Review since 1986. The Commission has the authority to deny building permits for any changes in use or structure that do not comply with guidelines they have developed for the seven-acre district.

I moved to Seattle in 1971. I was attracted to the town not because of the art community necessarily, but because of an attitude that I felt was unique among big cities in the United States. In Seattle, there is still the belief that the citizenry can make a difference.

When I arrived in Seattle, the citizens' initiative to save the Public Market from urban renewal efforts had just been passed. A number of people felt that there was a value to the market as it was, a brewing pot of many small grassroots merchants. The most important aspect of the market is that it still survives as an active retail environment, with the same kind of independent entrepreneurial merchants that were there before the renovation. There has been a great deal of redevelopment across the country, most notably in the festival market approach, in which the cost of the renovation required a rent structure in excess of what most merchants could afford. You fall into this trap when you do expensive projects.

In the Public Market renovation, every existing merchant was allowed to stay, in an effort to maintain the

Pike Place Public Market Historic District

"meet the producer" ambiance. One of the market guidelines dictates that it should be viewed as an incubator for small businesses. For example, the owner of each business is required to be at the market for a specified amount of time and franchises are not permitted. We did not want the market to give in to the notion of "grazers," i.e. tourists rambling through the market eating fast food. This is not what the market is about; it is a public food market for the citizens of Seattle.

Something that is very fashionable these days, and was recently done here, is the incorporation of the names of

various people who contribute funds to a project into the renovation itself. A few years ago, the Public Market was in need of substantial structural repair, and donors to the cause were entitled to put their name or some other phrase across a tile of the new floor. For a long time, we on the Commission had a problem with this, as it seemed a bit vain to have names all over the place. I worry about the city becoming full of plaques, in fear that they will start to appear on every tree and shrub. On the other hand, this approach paid for a floor and a roof that needed serious and expensive attention. I was happy to see that many people chose to put down a piece of poetry instead of their name.

As an artist sitting on the Design Review Commission, I was often faced with the question of what kind of art was appropriate for the Public Market. We really felt that the market was already an art piece - the vitality of the place is the event. Therefore, we didn't feel the need to bring in a sculpture and put it on a pedestal.

One of the "custodians" of the Pike Place Market neighborhood.

This resident was responsible for rat control in the market district.

I think the gift that artists can bring to this kind of planning and development process is not merely their skill at installing artwork, but their philosophy that in whatever you do, you have the responsibility to make it the best possible and to consider the effects of your actions over a long period of time. I feel that ethics have to go beyond what they teach in business classes about junk bonds. They have to do with your commitment to staying with a project beyond the typical developer's 10-year holding period.

When the market was renovated, many of the people who had been living in the area for a number of years were displaced - people who had taken care of the market on their own, without the help of any kind of organization or system. For example, I would often see one gentleman wandering around pruning and taking care of the trees out on the street or in the alleys. A woman who cared for the alley cats was in charge of rat control. Actually, for some time after the renovation there *was* a problem with rodents, and there was nobody around to take care of the trees, because these people had been displaced.

Some of the former residents are returning to the Market District along with new residents, creating a real mix of income levels; they are all slowly beginning to claim it as their neighborhood. It takes a long time to feel that an environment is your neighborhood, especially in an urban situation in which the public street is everybody's street. When someone buys a home, they know that their yard is their own, but when people move to a city environment, it is harder for them to feel that they are the custodians of their neighborhood. Over the past 12 years, I have tried to devise tactics to help that process along.

In 1978, one of the projects I used to dramatize the resettlement of downtown was the Shared Clothesline,

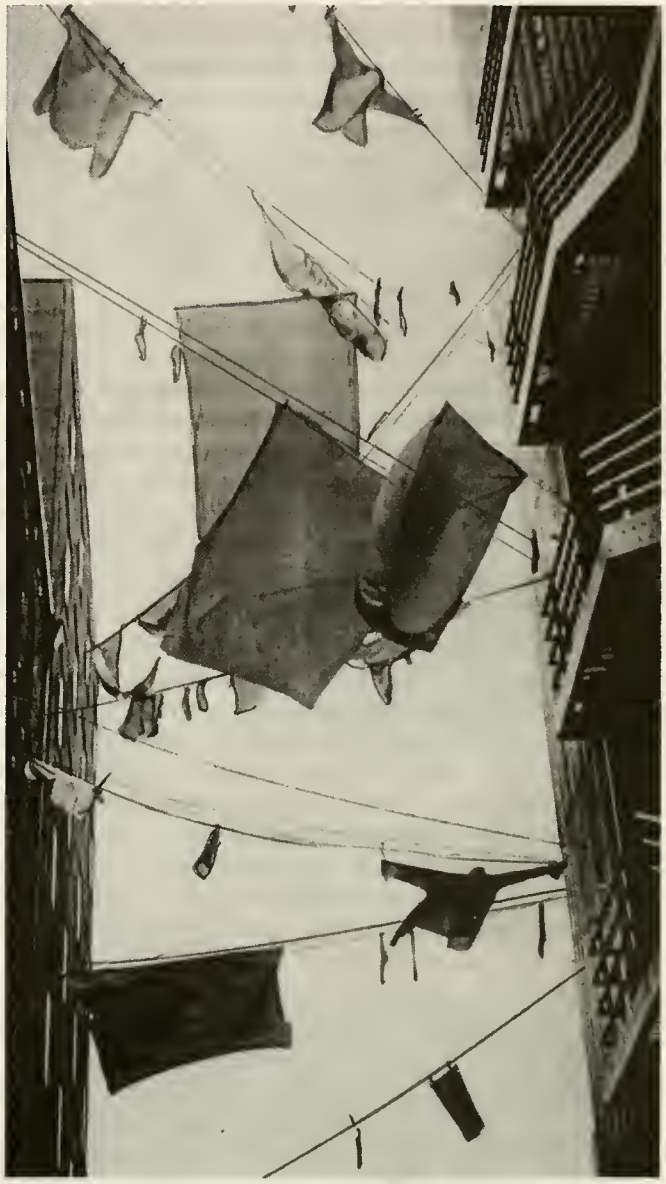
created to represent the rejoining of the neighborhood. I placed nine clotheslines between five stories of a public housing project and a new condominium. The two sides of the alley were tied together by the clotheslines, which both could share. The lines acted as banners of human occupation, celebrating the reoccupation of the downtown residential units. This solar clothes dryer also acted as an aeolian harp; on windy days, the frequency of the lines approximated the sound of wind through pine trees. We have to travel to Europe now to see the romance of clotheslines as a part of the cityscape, since most condominiums have covenants prohibiting the hanging of anything outside.

There was an interesting backlash from a resident of one of the public housing units. Seeing the lines outside reminded him of the hard times he had grown up with, when he had to wash clothes by hand. Now he could go downstairs and use the electric machines, and did not want to be reminded of clotheslines. This surprise demonstrates the ease with which even well-intentioned efforts can fail to recognize the real feelings or needs of everyone in an urban environment.

Working on a redevelopment project, it is crucial to be aware of the ongoing phenomena that exist on the street and not just come in, in our typical fashion, and clean the slate and try to start all over again. For example, there was a flowering tree in the Pike Place Market Historic District which was to be cut down to make way for a new hotel. The tree was on one of the few lots in the district upon which new construction could take place. Since it was in the Public Market district, the plans had to be approved by the Pike Place Market Historic District Commission. We declared the tree of significance, as a survivor of the period before the area's renovation, and required the developer to work around it. The developer came before the Commission on three separate occasions, bringing experts who testified that the tree would not survive, but we overruled them each time. They ultimately did do a good job of building the hotel around the tree and, after three years, the tree is doing fine. Today, the company is proud to point out to the community that they saved the tree and the units which share the corner with the blossoming tree are very popular.

The First Avenue Urban Arboretum and Bus Stop Project

This project has taken place on an 11-block stretch of First Avenue, in an area of Seattle termed Belltown and the Denny Regrade. The effort was initiated by the Denny Regrade Community Council in 1978, which has continued to support it over the years. Simpson has worked as part of a team of two artists, a landscape architect and an urban planner to introduce a variety of street trees and public seating for the 11 bus stops along the avenue.



Shared Clotheslines, celebrating the reoccupation of downtown Seattle

The goal of our design team was to create public seating that was innovative, historically-connected and cost-effective. The sandstone we chose to work with was from the historic Wilkeson Quarry, which had supplied material for many of the older buildings on the street. Budgetary restrictions inspired us to adopt a "ready-made" approach by using rejected building elements from the quarry's boneyard. Some of these artifacts have been incorporated into each bench; examples include decommissioned keystones from the archways of the State Capital Building (dismantled due to a 1949 earthquake) and rejected sandstone from a recent major downtown development project.

One of the benches is a set of steps, brought from the quarry "as is," and placed where a small residence used to be. We installed a "Welcome" mat in the sidewalk in

front of the bench, which is read as if you are coming out of the house. This effort is a suggestion to the residents of the recently-built condominiums along First Avenue to come out. Instead of welcoming people in, I am welcoming them out onto the street, saying "this is your street." There is a tendency for urban condominium residents to become isolated. Of course, if you spent $250,000 for a unit, you would probably want to be up there using it as much as possible.

Something that seems to be happening as more people from the suburbs are move back into the city is that the developers who market the attractiveness of city living often use suburban cliches to draw them downtown. The new residents lack an understanding of what "urban-ness" is all about. They are afraid of the closeness of the people and the diversity of the community. In time, those who move in do start to realize that it isn't all that frightening, that it is kind of interesting, and that the reason that they wanted to move downtown was because it is not a homogenized environment. But in the meantime, many developers continue to promote their downtown projects in a manner that is in fact very anti-urban.

When we first started working on First Avenue, it looked like a demilitarized zone. There were quite a few bars that had Happy Hours starting at six in the morning. Now there aren't any bars like that left. In the past 10 years that this project has been underway, there has been a tremendous transformation of the economic reality of the neighborhood.

The Market Historic District Commission forced the developer of this hotel to work around a flowering tree.

However, there is still a problem with street trees being brutalized, particularly when they are young. The lack of a large budget required us not only to start off with small fragile trees, but also to explore ways of mending rather than replacing them when damaged. On a number of occasions, some passerby would just come along and break off the terminal bud of a tree. The tendency by city officials is to say, "We've got to get rid of that, since it's not a perfect specimen." Our design team disagreed, preferring to find ways to splint the tree or allow it to correct itself. To the future observer, the irregular stature of some of the street trees will stand as a record of an earlier period in their history, as well as that of the neighborhood. This philosophy of mending and splicing became, in essence, an urban bonsai approach.

Another project designed to assist urban trees along with urban street people was my composting commode. Much of First Avenue's subsoil is hard pan clay, which is not conducive to tree growth and does not provide nurturing soil for the tree pit. At the same time, there was a need for First Avenue's street people to contain their indiscriminate defecation. So the composting commode was introduced as a way to deal with both of these issues. The "Johnny-on-the-Spot" style commode sat over a tree pit until it was full, at which point it was moved to another site. The filled pit would now be ready for the planting of a new tree.

The commode was first placed on the street without the official sanction of the city. After a week's time and use, the Engineering Department called me and requested that it be removed. The Engineering Department agreed on principle that a solution was necessary, and we decided to work together to secure official approval. I did ultimately fulfill all the requirements of the City, County, and State Health Departments, and later gained the enthusiastic approval of the Board of Public Works. The Board, in fact, suggested to me that I should take a transcript of all of the meetings, which were quite lengthy, and make toilet paper out of it. The process of this piece is as much a part of what it's about as the end result, and it will be duly noted on the commode.

Just as we have tried to use indigenous materials and trees in the redevelopment of First Avenue, we are also using indigenous organizations. I was just called by the El Ray House, a shelter for the homeless and mentally ill in downtown Seattle. The shelter staff provides the residents with activities, and we have been asked to work out a way in which they can help take care of their new neighborhood. I am excited by this chance to create a wonderful built-in neighborhood stewardship project. I feel that it is a very healthy thing for anyone to be able to take care of plants and share in the care of one's own environment.

"Readymade" bench on First Avenue, designed to "welcome out" residents of the new condominiums seen in the background

Cleveland's Warehouse District

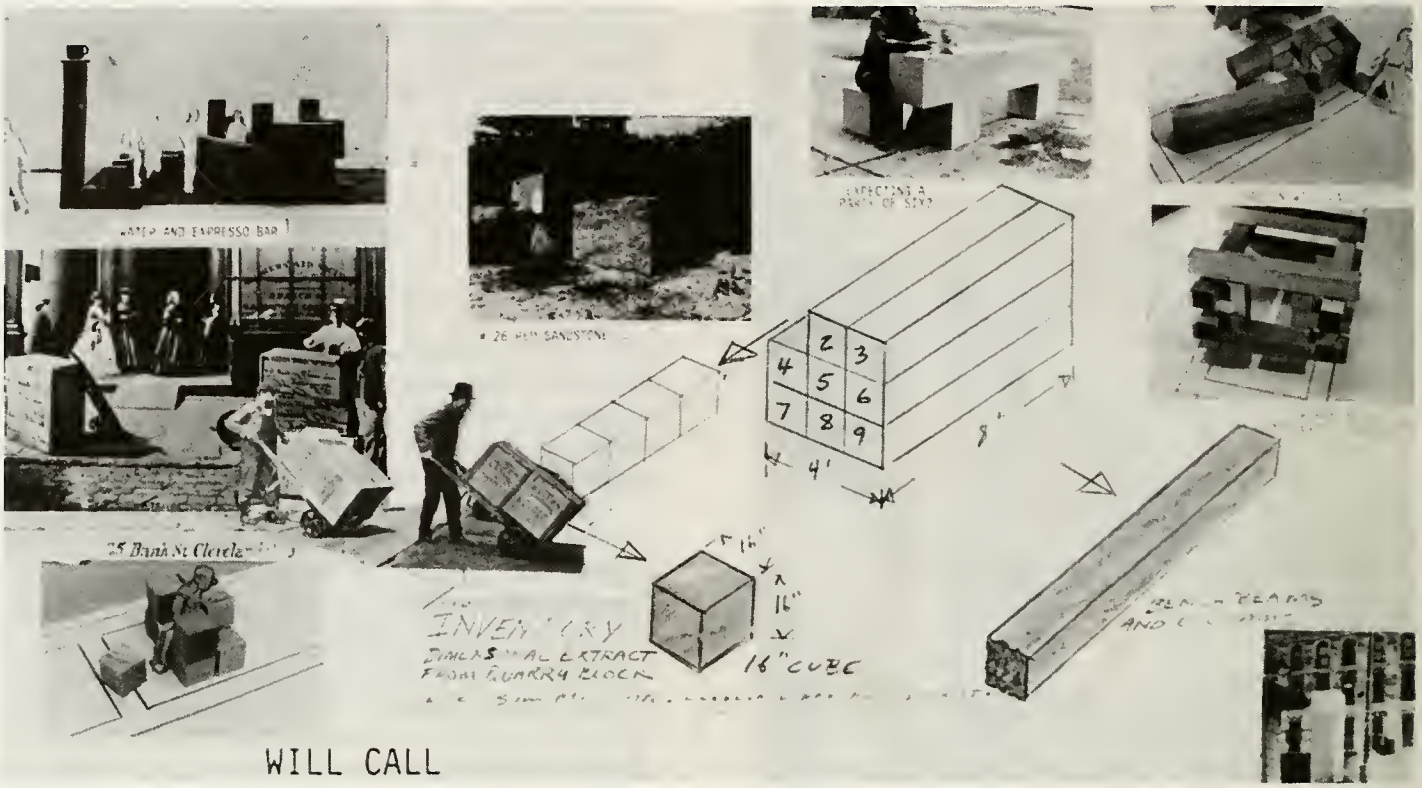
The Warehouse District is a 40-acre section of downtown Cleveland, containing a large concentration of architecturally and historically significant 19th- and 20th-century commercial structures. In 1985, the City of Cleveland initiated a plan for street and sidewalk improvements as the first phase of a redevelopment project for the district. The Committee for Public Art, an independent group of artists, art professionals and arts activists, pressed for the inclusion of an artist in the redevelopment plan; in 1986, they sponsored a national competition for an artist to design site-specific works in conjunction with the city's efforts. Simpson was selected from nearly 300 applicants, and worked with a team of local architects and a design firm in creating a streetscape for one block of the district. The implementation of the project involved cooperation with a wide range of public and private interests, including the Committee for Public Art, the Cleveland Landmarks Commission, the Historic Warehouse District Development Corporation, and the city's Community Development, Economic Development, and City Planning Departments. In addition to the streetscape, completed in June of 1988, the artist has made several proposals for further projects to evolve as the district develops.

When I begin a project, I start by going back in history to find a basis with which to build some kind of concept. Exploring the history of a neighborhood is fascinating, because it tells you the kinds of materials and approaches that are indigenous to the area.

Before I was brought into the Warehouse District project, a preliminary streetscape plan had already been laid out by an urban design firm. I reworked the design to inject it with more of a contextual concept. For example, I replaced the costly granite pavers with sandstone, an indigenous material. The use of sandstone also enabled me to modify the street's already planned "amenity strip" to make reference to the crosswalk pavement patterns typical of the area's past.

I have also made an effort to draw attention to the district's urban artifacts, and incorporate things like the existing call boxes, ramps and manhole covers into the streetscape design. I think that it is necessary to view a sidewalk, with its buildup and patinas and its patchwork quilt of new and old layers, as an important document of what has gone on in an area. For instance, since Cleveland is a steel town, slag from the iron factories was often used as an additive in the concrete sidewalks, along with limestone aggregate. These materials give a distinctive tint and texture to much of the district's pavement. I recommend using this "Cleveland mix" for any necessary sidewalk patching, while retaining as much of the original

West Sixth Street in Cleveland's Warehouse District



surface as possible. Although it is the fashion today to have beige sidewalks, this is not the aesthetic of the Warehouse District and is not historically correct.

One of the first characteristics that noticed in this neighborhood was that, in keeping with the historic and continued function of a warehouse district, the businesses still stockpile boxes of inventory along the sidewalk. The seating elements that I designed were in response to this concept of "inventory." From full quarry blocks, measuring 4 by 4 by 8 feet, I extracted modular 16 inch cubes and cut beams in 16 inch increments; this efficient use of the sandstone allowed for no wasted material. These "boxes" and "beams" are arranged to suggest stockpiles casually sited on the street on "will call," and have been grouped to provide benches, tables and platforms for the district. Although these modules are now anchored to the sidewalk, they can be rearranged; the idea is that they are elements to work with. The benches act as social catalysts, mimicking the idea of stoops around which people can congregate.

Another one of the interesting things I found out about Cleveland is that, since it was a part of the Western Reserve, it was one of the first areas surveyed with the new rectilinear grid system, which later continued all the way across the United States. The Warehouse District contains some of the first blocks plotted in Cleveland. From the 1796 field notes of the original city surveyor, we were able to determine the exact location of both survey monuments and witness trees. The term "witness tree" is used by surveyors to identify trees near survey points; these reference trees are chosen for their unusual physical characteristics. I propose that all historic witness tree locations be resurveyed and marked in order to create the basis for a new landscape plan with strong historical references. This approach is called for as a response to the increasingly ordered and self-contained cityscape, more often characterized by uniform tree types planted in regimented rows.

At this bench, one can sit at 16 inches or perch at 32 inches.

The treatment of the lighting in the district is a further way to acknowledge and nurture a historically-responsive streetscape. The existing overhead street lights are cobra heads which were mounted on turn-of-the century trolley poles in the 1950s. Here is a record of the buildup of history. This *ad hoc* retrofit is the type of no-frills approach they took in a warehouse district. Instead of installing a completely modern system, I recommend that the city simply add their new fixtures to the trolley poles, complementing the pragmatic buildup of history. This approach would represent the city's own upfront updating of the story of the neighborhood.

If the Warehouse District is ever going to get off the ground, it has to develop a genuine sense of vitality. There are now large tracts of parking lot wasteland, which are filled with cars during the day, but which do not serve to draw pedestrians to merchants in the neighborhood. I propose transforming the entire lots into markets on the weekends, and using spaces along the street frontage as day stalls during the week. Merchants can rent the spaces for a few dollars a day, drive their car in, open up their trunk and sell their wares. These little incubators of entrepreneurship will also act as visual buffers between the street and the parking lots.

Conclusion

In planning a redevelopment project, it is crucial to allow the local merchants to define themselves. As I mentioned before, start-up businesses often can not afford to rent space in a redeveloped or newly-developed area. The philosophy of Seattle's Public Market has made it very inexpensive to start off in day stalls. There are quite a few examples of merchants who, after working a few years in the stalls, become successful enough to graduate into a permanent space in the market. This system allows a homegrown quality to develop naturally, without the pressure to deal in something trendy. "Theme" or "formula" businesses will always have to try something new every five years, when the grazing public looks for greener pastures.

Patrons of the Public Market tend to return to the same merchants, developing an allegiance to the people who produce the goods they need. In fact, any place which has a strong sense of itself acquires an indigenous aesthetic, which makes visiting and living there far more meaningful. There is no simple formula that an urban planner can use to create this quality; it has to be something spiritual. The process takes time and commitment. It is the community's feeling of stewardship toward their history and their environment that makes a place special. □

Lewis "Buster" Simpson received his MFA in sculpture from the University of Michigan and has been widely recognized for his site-specific public art projects. He was part of the team of engineers, artists and architects which designed the award-winning Viewlands Hoffman Receiving Substation. Among his most recent projects is a group of 60 granite seating units entitled "Situation" on the Red Line of the Metropolitan Boston Transit Authority.

The interior of Pike Place Public Market, Seattle

A Nonlinear Approach to Open Space

William L. Flournoy, Jr.

This article traces the development of the Raleigh Greenway system. A nonlinear approach to greenway preservation evolved because of the existing institutional structure in Raleigh and the ever-changing greenway constituency. After considerable struggle, the greenway concept is now embraced in many communities across North Carolina and a simpler, more linear approach to creating greenways is in place.

Introduction

Raleigh was the first city in North Carolina to undertake a greenway program. Today it is recognized as a national leader in community-wide linear open space development. To begin to understand how Raleigh attained this position of respect, it is necessary to reflect on the physical, political, and social conditions that existed nearly 20 years ago, as the city began to formalize an open space plan.

As the Capitol City, Raleigh is one of the few cities in the United States planned prior to its development. Its location along a ridgeline was designed with a grid layout, and five public squares with the central square being the site of the capitol building. Over the next 180 years, the city grew down the hillsides toward the major drainage ways that flow into the Neuse River. The grid pattern was abandoned shortly after development spread beyond the original city limits. Up until the 1950s, numerous neighborhood parks were left along the streams of the expanding city, however, after the Korean War, the development community began to incorporate the use of large earth-moving machinery into their businesses. This radically changed the way growth was to occur and overpowered the respect that had been historically given to the natural characteristics of the landscape.

Raleigh has traditionally had a council-manager form of government. The council was elected at-large and the mayor chosen from among their ranks. By the late 1960s there was increasing public debate over whether this system was truly representative. A well-organized business community seemed to promote and finance candidates more successfully than neighborhood interests. The fact that virtually every mayor in memory was a developer made the council an easy target for neighborhood activists who were outraged about rezonings, thoroughfare plans, and development that they perceived as threats to their homes and lifestyles.

By the late 1960s and early 1970s the environmental movement was washing like a tidal wave across the nation. Having learned from the civil rights and anti-war movements, citizens inclined to promote environmental protection were well equipped to plea their cases. The city was rife with environmental issues. Road proposals that would have taken public parklands and wetlands raised the issue of disappearing open space. Recurring flood damage begged the prudence of development in floodplains. Streams that ran red and were "too thick to drink and too thin to plow" proved to be a catalyst for debate about sediment control.

Into this arena moved the linear open space issue. Having been considered as a concept in Raleigh's planning efforts since the era of the City Beautiful movement, and later offered as green fingers stretching throughout the city, "greenways" as a term of art were first proposed in three pages of the 1969 parks and recreation master plan, *Park With a City In It*. The way in which the Raleigh greenway system was transformed from a linear open space concept into reality is a story of power, enlightenment, participatory democracy, and survival of the fittest.

The Next Step

In retrospect it is obvious that a linear approach could not have succeeded in creating a greenway system. A process of establishing a city policy, amending the comprehensive plan, securing a budget, and assigning operational responsibility was too simple and even inappropriate in this case. At the time it was not obvious that this linear approach would not work, but it was clear that the existing institutional structure would not support creation of a greenway system. What evolved, more

through cooperation and shared interests than through a specific plan, was a nonlinear approach. Institutional issues were addressed pragmatically, and once resolved they were fed back into the process of addressing the next institutional issue. This had a cumulative effect of changing the foundation upon which civic and business decisions were made, and has resulted in the creation and metamorphosis of the greenway system.

During the 1960s, a program between the Raleigh and North Carolina State University's School of Design was established, whereby a small grant was made each year to support a student project of benefit to the Parks and Recreation Department. In 1970, a request was made to use the city's grant to study the greenway concept in more detail. The mayor at the time was the developer responsible for a regional shopping center in a local floodplain. Having been on the receiving end of endless criticism about anticipated traffic and environmental problems resulting from the shopping center project, the mayor was hypersensitive about focusing any more attention on issues relating to streams or floodplains. The study request never saw the light of a council meeting, and a different study request was later substituted.

In 1971, the School of Design reapplied for a grant to study greenways. The city had a new mayor, also a developer, but one who did not have the baggage of past investments. He also had a bring-everyone-together approach to issues, so the study was approved with a committee of representatives from city agencies assigned to oversee its preparation. Thus began a one semester project that required eighteen months to complete.

The resulting report was *Capital City Greenway*, 100 pages of primer and consciousness building. The report discussed a broad range of greenway objectives and benefits. One critical concept presented is the fact that linear open space has significantly more perimeter or edge than traditional consolidated parks. This edge may be used to buffer competing land uses and soften the urban image. Linear open space can connect traditional parks and other activity centers such as schools and shopping centers. They can also accommodate popular recreation activities, such as jogging, walking, bicycling, and canoeing which may not be compatible with traditional urban parks. When associated with streams, which are also linear systems, the open space allows flooding to occur without damage to buildings, or disruption of the local economy or individual lives. Environmentally, linear open space acts as a vegetated buffer along streams to protect water quality and fragile natural ecosystems such as wetlands. Further, the urban environment is enhanced through air quality, temperature, and noise moderation resulting from the conservation of vegetation. Finally, these areas function as wildlife corridors, allowing a greater diversity of animals to travel through and survive within urban areas.

The report noted the increasing need for recreational opportunities close to home, a trend that has continued and become even more important with todays' demographics, economy, and lifestyles. It also included a methodology for determining greenway widths, the roles of various actors for creating greenways within the urban development process, and several design considerations needed to bring the greenway concept into practice. Transmitted to Raleigh's city council in the fall of 1972, the report was officially "accepted," but then disappeared within the city administration.

The Reluctant Bride

It is not surprising that the greenway concept did not immediately take root in city programming. Having been promoted more by the public than by the city's administration, there were political, institutional, and budget barriers to overcome. The city government was moving in a direction that did not include a significant new program. Even the representatives of city agencies who participated in the preparation of the Capital City Greenway report had not reached a consensus on what they wanted the greenway to be.

Raleigh's Planning Director was a strong advocate for linear open space and felt that the entire length and width of the city's floodplains should become greenways. This seemed to be his response to the growing recognition that controls were needed on floodplain development.

On the other hand, Raleigh's Parks and Recreation Director advocated the use of sidewalk width greenways to minimize conflict with development interests and to make the system more economically feasible. From his perspective, the continuity of the greenway's trail system was the key factor in its design.

In the early 1970s, there was virtually no one in the city administration who could deal with the environmental concepts inherent to greenways. Environmental protections were just becoming part of federal law, and the role of states was in the process of being defined. Moreover, it would be years before local governments would be compelled to undertake the most rudimentary environmental protections. Nevertheless, it was clear that the greenway issue was inexorably tied to issues that had to be acted upon before there would be a reasonable chance for greenways to progress.

A Partial Solution

Two related issues began to move through the city's and then the county's governing processes. After years of public discourse, a flood in early 1973 thrust the issues of floodplain regulation and sediment control to the forefront. These issues were stalemated until a second

flood in mid-1973 occurred, tipping the scales and persuading local officials to approve floodplain and sediment control regulations.

Prior to enactment of these regulations, all land was considered to have equal value, regardless of its environmental characteristics. From that time on, however, real estate interests began to realize that floodplains were less developable, and that areas with steep slopes and erodible soils had additional costs included in their development. About the same time, Section 404 of the Clean Water Act of 1977 restrictd the filling and development of wetlands. The environmental and fiscal debts from unwise development would no longer be passed on to or borne by the public.

While none of the new "environmental" regulations created a greenway or gave the public any right to use the effected areas, they were invaluable in allowing the greenway concept to mature. All of the regulations were disincentives to development in the areas along streams which were the target area for the proposed greenway system. The changes in perception, attitudes, and market values that accompanied the new regulations allowed greenways to compete for a place in the urban landscape.

Politics - The Art of the Possible

Other changes occurring in Raleigh at this time were bigger than greenways but accommodated the continued institutionalization of the greenway concept. Prior to 1974, citizens had successfully petitioned for a referendum to change the process for electing their city council and mayor. The new process involved electing several council members representing specific districts, several at-large council members, and the popular election of the mayor. This, it was argued, would give neighborhood candidates a competitive chance to gain office, and would be a more representative form of government. Voters approved the new process.

In 1974, two years after the greenway report had been accepted by the city, the new, more neighborhood-oriented council agreed to establish a Greenway Commission. This body was to consist of 18 citizens who would advise the council and administration on matters of greenway creation. Yet even this step forward was not without both external and internal compromise. Externally, nearly a dozen representative greenway advocates were meeting with their champion from the new city council. Their preference was to seek a greenway authority with independent budget and decision-making power, although this concept was politically impractical. Greenway advocates did not want greenways added to the existing Parks and Recreation Commission, because they thought a new program could not mature in competition with established parks and recreation activities. They also felt that greenways should not be added to the existing Planning Commission because this body did not have implementation capacity and conceptually, should probably not be given such responsibility. The compromise was to create an Advisory Greenway Commission with the Planning Department providing staff to the Greenway Commission, and the Parks and Recreation Department providing construction and operation personnel. Internally, council members agreed to the establishment of the Greenway Commission only after they were each assured two appointments, even though this produced an almost unworkably large commission.

The city administration also had roles to play and compromises to make. Historically, the Planning Department performed comprehensive planning and administered land use regulations, but had little responsibility for facility design. They inherited this new responsibility when the Greenway Commission and program were created. Until this time, the Parks and Recreation Department had provided for organized recreation activities, but unlike league sports, greenways had no organized and defined constituency. The new greenway program required the department to seek out a new advocacy group, and to support a program that was important for both its environmental and recreational benefits.

The greenway program benefited from the changes in city council elections. Its prospects were also improved by the adoption of floodplain and sediment control regulations. On the other hand, the greenway program required the city administration to expand the perspective and breadth of its services and operations. All of these amounted to major institutional changes brought about by citizens' involvement in their government.

The Constituency - An Evolving Advocacy

Normally, when citizens seek specific actions from their government there is an identifiable constituency. In the case of Raleigh's greenway program, that has not always been true. What has been most perplexing to decision-makers is that the source of greenway advocacy has continually changed. It was never clear whether popular support was an "inch wide and a mile deep" or "a mile wide and an inch deep".

In the early years of greenway concept development and program creation there was an intentional and concerted effort of public education. This was carried out first by citizen-advocates as a means of increasing public support, and then by the Greenway Commission. The greenway message of environmental, recreational, city form, and quality of life benefits was delivered to any group that would listen. Hundreds of presentations occurred over a three or four year period.

The League of Women Voters was active on a broad range of issues including participatory government and citizen involvement through neighborhood-created organizations. The League also had an environmental agenda reflecting new national concerns. Floodplain regulation, sediment control, and greenways became a focus for carrying that agenda forward locally. Once the greenway program was established, they moved on to other issues.

The greenway issue provided a positive topic and high visibility for the rapidly expanding Sierra Club. Typically an organization is only as good as its individual leaders, and the local Sierra Club group had several excellent leaders who were greenway advocates. Funds were raised for a sophisticated multi-projector slide show on the greenway concept. This show replaced all previous educational programs because of its quality and the energy of its presenters. The Club could also be counted on to take an adversarial position on the need for floodplain regulation and sediment control. Once the greenway program was established, the Club continued its direct advocacy by getting its leaders appointed to the original Greenway Commission, but the Club began to broaden the scope of its issues overall.

Wake Environment was another local organization which supported environmental management through land use decisions and greenways. The rational message and persuasive approach of its leaders ultimately made Wake Environment a victim of its own success. Most of its leadership was absorbed into appointed boards and commissions, or elected office. This internalization process was instrumental in the establishment of the greenway program, but it lead to the demise of the organization.

After 1974, the character of greenway advocacy changed as the issues moved away from program creation and toward greenway development. There was a year or so of quiet activity as the necessary institutional planning occurred and the program's direction was charted. Once the implementation of the greenway system was begun, neighborhood groups became the advocates. Garden clubs, homeowners associations, and similar groups competed for priority positions on the greenway construction schedule. Not surprisingly, as their individual projects were completed these groups became less involved, causing a constant turnover of advocates and an appearance of diminished support for greenway programs.

The nature of greenway advocacy took another turn after 1980. It became increasingly obvious that there was a need for coordination between local governments to ensure that greenways continued and interconnected across jurisdictional lines. The Triangle Greenways Council (TGC) was established to promote greenways in the six-county Triangle Region. Although their dream is for a greenway encircling Raleigh, Durham, and Chapel Hill, their work has remained strictly local. Efforts of TGC members have been directly or indirectly responsible for the creation of separate greenway programs in the City of Durham, the Town of Chapel Hill, and in Wake County. Other communities within the Triangle area continue to accumulate linear open space, even though they have yet to establish greenway programs. Volunteers from the TGC are presently constructing a 40-mile section of the Mountains-To-Sea trail at Falls Lake, and trails at Jordon Lake and in Duke Forest. The presence of TGC has subtly elevated the greenway issue throughout the area.

The Triangle Land Conservancy (TLC), a progeny of the Triangle J Council of Governments, was created to fill the need for a private organization to actively conserve land in an area of rapid urbanization. TLC is presently coordinating the preparation of biological inventories for each of the region's six counties. These inventories are the foundation for private and public efforts to protect the special places and resources described within each county inventory. Many stream corridors are identified in the inventories as existing or potential greenways. The majority of lands owned by TLC includes streams, such as the 250-acre White Pines Preserve at the confluence of the Deep and Rocky Rivers. The existence of TLC has added a new dimension to greenway efforts, even though their conservation goals are much broader.

The constituency for greenways has changed significantly over the years. It has evolved from groups with multiple interests focusing on greenways for Raleigh, to single interest groups focusing on greenways for the region. Now that greenways have been built, it is clear that they are heavily used facilities. Many developers are donating open space for greenways and using the proximity as a marketing tool to increase the value and desirability of their projects. In Raleigh, greenways have come to be expected as a community facility, but greenway users remain an unorganized constituency.

A segment of the Capital Area Greenway

Today and Tomorrow

Over the past two decades, tremendous strides have been made to accommodate greenways into the fabric of urban development. Even today this metamorphosis is continuing.

Several years ago the Greenway Commission was merged into the Parks and Recreation Commission. This change was viewed with some skepticism by greenway advocates, since it was still uncertain whether the program was mature enough to compete with traditional parks and recreation programs. The concern is now being replaced with renewed faith in the program as the transition appears to be moving smoothly.

Public advocacy groups continue to be on the cutting edge of greenway activity. The Triangle Land Conservancy and the Triangle Greenways Council joined forces in 1985 to prepare a report entitled *Future of the Neuse River.* This document asks what role the river will serve in the community's future, and has been a catalyst for public policy discussion. To further increase public appreciation of the river, these groups have sponsored canoe trips along the river each spring and fall. They have also adopted the upper Neuse River, as part of the North Carolina Department of Natural Resources and Community Development's Streamwatch Program, and will be preparing a "how-to" report on planning canoe trails.

The city's administration that was once reluctant to pursue greenways is now embracing the program. A major sewer line proposed along more than 10 miles of the Neuse River presented an unprecedented greenway opportunity. By seeking greenway and sewer easements concurrently, the city has secured 5.8 miles of the needed greenway right-of-way. The remaining greenway lands can be accumulated as specific subdivision and land use plans are received for city review and approval. In another recent development, Wake County and the municipalities with land use jurisdiction along the river have begun a Neuse River corridor study. The results of this study should be a coordinated effort and a plan for public protection and use of the river.

Regulations continue to play an important role in greenway development. Raleigh was the first North Carolina city to adopt development impact fees. Through this system, the provision of greenway open space can be deducted from impact fees owed. This perpetuates the greenway network in the absence of a mandatory dedication of open space provision, which has never been included in the city's subdivision requirements. Nationally, Section 319 of the Clean Water Act Amendments requires every state to prepare a plan for controlling non-point source pollution or surface water runoff. This program is expected to be implemented in the 1990s. Since vegetated buffer strips along streams are an accepted method for controlling agricultural runoff, it is anticipated that greenways may very well become an accepted method of controlling urban runoff.

In Reflection

Raleigh's greenway efforts have been a success, but not a total success. Retrofitting the greenway into those parts of the city that were developed prior to 1970 is still problematic. One neighborhood wanted a greenway so much that it raised $300,000 to buy out a developer and save the last remaining open space. Unfortunately, this is not a universally applicable solution for completing the greenway network. The opportunities to move previously developed structures to make room for a greenway corridor have also been limited and expensive. Perhaps there is still something to be learned and an innovative solution found to resolve this impasse.

From its humble beginnings in Raleigh, the greenway concept has spread within the immediate region and to the other major urban centers within the state. For the past two years a Greenways In North Carolina conference has been held to spread the word further. A recent count identified more than 35 local government greenway programs in the state.

The greenway concept is so logical and so attractive that the President's Commission on Americans Outdoors included a recommendation for a nationwide network of greenways in its recent report. Nationally, the concept provides an opportunity for large-scale river and wetland protection, as well as the connection of national parks and refuges with population centers. Locally, the concept provides a mechanism for integrating the growing body of knowledge about environmental management with close-to-home recreation opportunities, and improvement of the urban aesthetic and quality of life. A linear approach to creating greenways did not exist in the 1970s, yet today, many of the institutional underpinnings for greenway programs are in place in state and local governments across the country. Thus a simpler, more linear approach to creating greenways is now possible, and they will continue to spread as long as there are enlightened citizens and public administrators. □

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Preservation Without the "Z" Word

Diane E. Lea
Robert M. Leary

This article describes how a group of concerned citizens set about to protect their relatively isolated, rural town from the ever-increasing threat of development pressures. Through the formation of a County-supported Community Council and the preparation of an innovative "Non-zoning Zoning Ordinance" which allows the designation of an Historic District and the establishment of an Historic District Commission, the people of Valle Crucis, North Carolina hope to maintain the visual, historic and aesthetic integrity of their community.

Introduction

The North Carolina enabling legislation dealing with the establishment of local historic districts and district commissions requires that district designation and commission formation be part of a local zoning ordinance. In some areas of the state, zoning is not a politically palatable subject, yet there is a growing realization that protection of the natural and built environments, particularly those of historic, architectural, and cultural significance, is important.

These clashing viewpoints came together in the Watauga County community of Valle Crucis. This article describes the process by which a *non-zoning zoning ordinance* was prepared, to allow the designation of the Valle Crucis Historic District and the establishment of the Valle Crucis Historic District Commission. The final vote on whether the ordinance will be adopted and the historic district designated has not been cast.

The ordinance described here is an effort to protect both the historic built environment and the scenic valley where it is situated. The limitations of the ordinance reflect the need for more precise legal mechanisms for landscape preservation and more flexibility in existing historic district regulations.

Background

Valle Crucis, or Vale of the Cross, is a lovely area of Watauga County, located about eight miles from the burgeoning university community of Boone. This wild and scenic valley, where the Rt. Rev. Levi Stillman Ives, Bishop of North Carolina, chose to establish an Episcopal church and mission in 1842, is named for the St. Andrew's Cross formed by the convergence of three nearby streams.

The setting for the church and mission and the surrounding community has changed little over the years. Narrow, winding roads crisscross steep slopes which ascend to the ridges enclosing this serene valley.

One native fighting to preserve Valle Crucis describes the community in this way:

> Valle Crucis has largely retained its rural, bucolic appearance and atmosphere. Cattle are seen on its hillsides and lush meadows and in summer, corn, tobacco and hay grow in the fields. No condominiums or large apartments are seen in the area. This is most unusual as newcomers rush to own "a place in the mountains." Hopefully, this beautiful village can survive much as it is for future generations to see, appreciate and enjoy.

In addition to its beauty, Valle Crucis is also notable for several local landmarks which reflect its history as an isolated, rural mountain community. The Gothic-inspired Church of the Holy Cross (1925) and the Mission School Conference Center, descendants of Bishop Ives' mission, are at the center of a parish devoted to worship, education and service to the area. The Mast General Store, established in 1898 as the community's first store, continues to thrive as a tourist attraction. The Mast Farm House (1885), adaptively reused as a bed and breakfast, was recently honored by the Historic Preservation Foundation of North Carolina for sensitive and accurate historic restoration.

The store and the farm house, now the Mast Farm Inn, are remarkably intact examples of vernacular mountain architecture. The general store stands relatively unchanged since the time when it was the focus for community gossip and commerce. The inn is testament to the enterprising family which once ran it as a tourist home for summer visitors and nurtured a cottage industry for local weavers.

An uncluttered rural landscape forms the setting for the Watauga County community of Valle Crucis, or Vale of the Cross, named for an 1857 Episcopal mission.

These structures are listed on the National Register of Historic Places, as are 13 other properties in the community.

For over a century, Valle Crucis remained a quiet community of farmers and mountain people with close ties to the land and its resources. It seemed untouched by the rampant development taking place in other portions of the county. Yet, change was occurring.

In August 1987, at the request of many citizens in the Valle Crucis community, the Watauga County Board of Commissioners set up and funded the Valle Crucis Community Council (VCCC). The Council was established according to guidelines adopted by the County in January 1986, to allow communities more say in development occurring within their boundaries. The Valle Crucis group was charged with the preparation of a plan for the Valle Crucis area, to be submitted upon completion to the Board of County Commissioners through the Watauga County Planning Board.

The plan, as set out in guidelines from the County Commission, was to be a comprehensive community plan which described community goals, recommended development patterns, and assessed needs. It was to contain a community action strategy which could include such elements as a land use management program, a historic preservation program, an economic revitalization program or other appropriate mechanisms for implementing community goals. A significant amount of community input was deemed necessary for the development of the plan.

The 15-member Council, composed of citizens and property owners within the broadly defined Valle Crucis community, began work. It was soon apparent that a major concern of the community was the preservation of the heart of Valle Crucis, the small cluster of structures, including the Mast Store, that stretches less than a mile along NC Highway 194 and State Road 1112. In September 1987, the VCCC adopted as part of its program the goals put forth by a cooperating local group, the Citizens for a Valle Crucis Historic District. The group became a working committee within the VCCC and began the long process that led to the development of a historic district ordinance. The committee's first move was to investigate the possibility of

establishing a local historic district as a major element of the plan strategy.

Their search took them to Michael Southern, head of the Survey and Planning Branch of the North Carolina Division of Archives and History. His recommendation was to begin taking an inventory of the community's historic structures in order to determine whether there was enough historic fabric for a district. The effort received professional advice and some financial aid from the Division. Martha Fullington of the Western Field Office helped the VCCC volunteers organize the field work. An architectural description and a photographic and historic record was made for each structure within the proposed historic district.

Additional assistance and inspiration came from faculty and graduate students at Appalachian State University. Dr. Charles A. Watkins, Director of the Appalachian Cultural Center, and Dr. Robert Reiman, Chairman of the Geography Department, provided students whose knowledge of historic and vernacular architecture and mapping skills supplemented the local volunteers' knowledge of family history, property ownership and genealogy.

The Catalyst

The establishment of the Council was motivated by the community's realization that development pressures were increasing and the relatively isolated existence of Valle Crucis was in jeopardy. These concerns were confirmed when a developer announced his plan to build a small shopping center in a prominent location between the Mast Store and the Valle Crucis Elementary School.

The announcement galvanized the community by exposing its inability to deny or alter such projects.

At first, it was hoped that the requirement for State approval of sewage disposal plans could be used to block the project - an empty hope. However, the protracted debates and hearings on the discharge permit application gave the VCCC an opportunity to explore ways of providing more local control over future development in Valle Crucis.

Outside Help

As the fight to prevent the construction of the shopping center continued, it became apparent to the self-reliant Valle Crucians that outside help was needed. Robert M. Leary and Diane E. Lea, principals in a Raleigh-based planning firm, were approached by members of the VCCC to discuss the options which might be available, using the police power, to protect the critical areas which characterize Valle Crucis.

Leary and Associates soon learned that "zone" was a four-letter word completely unacceptable in Watauga County. We pointed out that under North Carolina law, the creation of a local historic district would require the adoption of a zoning ordinance for at least a portion of Watauga County. Such a district would supplement the National Register listing which certain properties enjoyed and provide protection beyond the boundaries of the individual Register sites.

The Valle Crucians were dismayed by the requirement that historic districts and historic district commissions had to be part of a zoning ordinance. They felt that community resistance to zoning would be strong enough to scuttle a historic district designation plan.

We then asked, "Suppose we create a historic district ordinance that really is a zoning ordinance, but doesn't use the term zoning"? Eureka! We could prepare *a non-zoning zoning ordinance*! Or could we?

Consultation with initially skeptical experts at the Institute of Government and the North Carolina Division of Archives and History convinced us and them that it was indeed possible to create such a thing. It had never been done, but there was nothing in the enabling legislation, court decisions or elsewhere to bar the attempt.

Foundation for a strip commercial shopping center heralds change in Valle Crucis' historic center.

We went back to the VCCC, heartened by the reaction of the experts, and recommended that it consider the use of a non-zoning zoning ordinance to establish a local historic district and a district commission for the most sensitive portion of Valle Crucis. This area was not all of the community under the ambit of the VCCC, but only that area which contained the most significant structures and sites - the heart of Valle Crucis.

The key provision of the enabling legislation which allowed serious consideration of this approach, was N.C. G.S. 153A-342. This statute permits zoning ordinances within unincorporated portions of counties to be applied to areas containing more than 640 acres of land in more than 10 separately owned properties. Both of these

requirements, we believed, could be met by the area of most critical concern to the VCCC and the vast majority of the property owners.

In our discussions with the VCCC, we emphasized that what was being proposed was, indeed, a zoning ordinance, but it would not use the term "zoning" nor appear to be anything but the establishment of a local historic district and district commission. It would permit the commission to approve or disapprove applications for certificates of appropriateness governing the external appearance of alterations, additions, new construction and demolitions within the District.

We stated that the Historic District Ordinance would contain some use and dimensional regulations applying to at least two subdistricts (zones) within the Historic District. This approach was analogous to that which was used in several jurisdictions in North Carolina where regulations normally found in zoning ordinances are imbedded in subdivision regulations. This practice was followed where there was sufficient political support for the adoption of subdivision regulations but not for a zoning ordinance. Buncombe County adopted such an ordinance several years ago, as did several other North Carolina jurisdictions.

There was spirited debate about the recommendation, but general agreement that it seemed to be the only practical alternative.

It was clear that much local effort would be necessary to support the preparation of the ordinance. Critical areas for such an effort included:

1. The delineation of boundaries for the historic district to insure not only that they met the 640 acre and 10 properties requirements, but also that they encompassed sufficient land to protect the historic structures and surroundings, as well as the magnificent natural setting of Valle Crucis.
2. The establishment of review criteria to guide the Historic District Commission in its decisions on Certificate of Appropriateness matters. The guidelines needed to be sufficiently flexible to be acceptable to the community while, at the same time, providing a level of protection appropriate for the anticipated problems.
3. The definition of boundaries for the subdistricts, particularly the subdistrict which would include lands designated for non-residential use, such as retail, banking and food service.
4. The education of the community to the importance of the architectural and historic resources of the community and the uncluttered hillsides that form their context.

All of us agreed that local debate and decision on these areas were the only way to proceed.

In order to establish a local historic district, a designation report must be prepared and submitted to the North Carolina Division of Archives and History. The research and analysis already underway was to form the basis of this document with the addition of appropriately delineated boundaries and an essay justifying the historic and architectural importance of the proposed district.

It was decided that our role would be played out of the public eye. There was fear that strangers from afar could be a distraction and an impediment to adoption. We would propose the ordinance and advise the VCCC, which would have the responsibility for critiquing our efforts, but more importantly, for mustering the understanding and support of the community and the appointed and elected officials of Watauga County. This required the members to become knowledgeable about the intricacies of state enabling legislation and some theory and practice of zoning while, at the same time, avoiding the use of the "four-letter word."

With this agreed upon, we moved forward with the preparation of the Valle Crucis Historic District Ordinance.

Ordinance Preparation

We had recently completed preparation of a new zoning ordinance for the City of Hickory. The text of the Ordinance and its schedule of district regulations contained 19 articles and ran more than 250 pages, not untypical for such documents.

We considered each of the articles in light of the question, "Is the material contained in this article necessary to produce a generic zoning ordinance"? In the case of 13 of the 19 articles, the answer was "no." We thus were left with 6 articles which became the working outline for the bare-bones ordinance:

1. General Provisions
2. Historic District and Historic District Commission
3. Amendments
4. Board of Adjustment
5. Nonconformities
6. Legal Provisions

Article I contained two major provisions. The first was the Statement of Purposes, a portion of which is as follows:

a) To preserve and protect the heritage of the Valle Crucis community in Watauga County.
b) To protect and conserve individual properties within the Valle Crucis community that embody important elements of Valle Crucis' and Watauga

County's social, economic, cultural, political or architectural history.

c) To promote the conservation of the Valle Crucis Historic District for the education, pleasure and enrichment of the Valle Crucis community, Watauga County and the State of North Carolina.

d) To stabilize and enhance property values throughout the Valle Crucis Historic District.

e) To foster civic beauty and amenity within the Valle Crucis Historic District.

f) To contribute to the improvement of the general health and welfare of the residents of the Valle Crucis Historic District and Watauga County.

The second portion was the reference to the statutory authority where both Chapter 153A, Article 19, Part III, and Chapter 160A, Article 19, Part 3A, of the General Statutes were cited. The first is the County Zoning Enabling Legislation. The ordinance notes it as being enacted for the "purposes enunciated therein," departing from the usual practice of arraying purposes contained in the statute. The second reference is to the enabling legislation for historic districts and district commissions. Thus, the tie of the Valle Crucis ordinance to the enabling legislation, while clear, is not advertised.

Article II, which establishes the Valle Crucis Historic District and the Valle Crucis Historic Commission, was adapted from the Keep North Carolina Beautiful publication *A Manual for North Carolina Historic District Commissions*, prepared by our firm some years ago. This publication has been the source of inspiration for several score historic district amendments to local zoning ordinances in North Carolina and elsewhere.

We received the advice and comments of the VCCC regarding the number and qualifications of members of the local Historic District. The VCCC also worked with us on the dimensional and use regulations, which were incorporated as part of the Historic District regulations contained in this article.

Two subdistricts (zones) were established. The first, covering the vast majority of the estimated 1000 acres of land included within the proposed district, included primarily residential and related support uses, while the second district, comprising less than 2% of the total

The Mast Farm House (1885), now the Mast Farm Inn, a comfortable bed and breakfast, won a state preservation award for authentic restoration and appropriate adaptive reuse.

Historic District permitted convenience and specialty retail sales, restaurants, post offices, banks and normal accessory uses.

As required by state law, an exemption of *bona fide* farms from the effect of the ordinance was also included. This point was significant during later debates about the ordinance.

The review criteria, to be used by the Historic District Commission in deciding applications for Certificates of Appropriateness, were prepared in draft form by the VCCC. Members of the Council consulted among themselves and with property owners and residents within the district at this juncture. They wished to be sure that the review criteria addressed the important elements of the community which needed protection while, at the same time, providing a substantial amount of flexibility for alterations and new construction.

Council members realized that Valle Crucis was not a stage set on which had been erected a single architectural style. It was a pleasant but eclectic collection of mainly vernacular architecture amid spectacular natural scenery. Thus, the review criteria noted, "in considering new construction, the Commission shall encourage contemporary design, which is harmonious with the character of the district."

The review criteria are not as elaborate, detailed and specific as those that might be used in a more complicated setting or within a community much more experienced in the application of police-power regulations. They do, however, have the understanding and support of the local citizens, a most critical consideration.

Article III recognizes that it takes a law to change a law. Thus, it addresses the amendment process and incorporates the requirements of state law regarding referrals, notice and public hearings. It makes use of the County Manager's office as the central location for administering the process. We sought the advice of the County Planner in the preparation of this article because it is likely that he will play a major role in the handling of proposed amendments.

Those amendments can take the form of either adjustments to the text of the ordinance or to the map depicting the boundaries of the district and subdistricts.

Article IV establishes the Watauga County Planning Board as the Board of Adjustment. It will exercise the traditional powers of a board of adjustment, including hearing appeals concerning decisions of the Commission.

It was decided not to set up a separate Board of Adjustment, but to take advantage of the enabling legislation provision allowing planning boards to exercise this function. The likelihood of major amounts of business for the Board of Adjustment from the Historic District is remote. It is not desirable to create a new body which would be largely unemployed.

Article V deals with nonconformities, the addressing of which could not be avoided in creating a generic zoning ordinance. There will be some nonconforming situations within the proposed Historic District, but they will be rare. However, to preserve the constitutionality of the ordinance, provisions addressing the five classes of nonconformity were included in a relatively simple three-page article.

Article VI contains the various legal provisions under such headings as Violations; Liability; Penalties and Remedies; Severability; and Conflict with Other Laws. These were fairly standard provisions which appear in all zoning ordinances. They were grouped in a two-page article.

The Final Draft

When the draft of the Valle Crucis Historic District Ordinance was completed, we found that we had created an ordinance 25 pages long, including the Table of Contents. It contained all of the elements necessary to qualify as a zoning ordinance, as well as a Historic District and Commission Ordinance.

To confirm this belief, we asked for review by representatives of the Division of Archives and History and the Institute of Government at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Both groups agreed that the basic approach was sound and the contents constituted a defensible zoning ordinance as well as a workable Historic District and District Commission Ordinance. Both contributed valuable suggestions, which were incorporated into the draft.

While we were preparing the Ordinance, members of the VCCC, along with their student assistants from ASU, prepared maps depicting the boundaries of the proposed district. This entailed a considerable amount of debate, evaluation of the architectural and historic merit of various structures, and analysis of the topographic, scenic and natural elements of the Valle Crucis landscape. The citizens and students walked the proposed boundary lines to assure themselves of the validity of their tentative decisions before they drew the final recommended boundaries.

This work, which included justification for the location of the lines, constituted an important portion of the local District Designation Report, which was moving forward at the same time.

The rough draft of the proposed ordinance was submitted to the VCCC for criticism and improvement. We reviewed it in detail at several meetings and answered questions by telephone and letter. We spent a great deal of time explaining the reasons for the wording and pointing out areas where adjustments might be considered.

The Adoption Process

After we delivered the final draft of the ordinance, it was married with the map depicting both the boundary line of the historic district and the boundaries of the two subdistricts. Shortly after the ordinance was drafted, the VCCC submitted the Historic District Designation Report to the Division of Archives and History. The report was accepted with few adjustments. The proposed district was deemed historic and worthy of designation.

With these two documents complete, the VCCC began the painstaking process of building local understanding and support for the ordinance. This understanding and support had to be generated within the area proposed for the historic district designation, within the broader Valle Crucis community, and at the level of the appointed and elected officials of Watauga County. This assignment was accepted by a subcommittee of the VCCC, which met regularly to frame answers to common questions and plan tactics for reaching the various constituencies.

The Council held two meetings at which the ordinance was discussed and explained and questions answered. As with most efforts such as this, there were misunderstandings and confusion on the part of some owners, residents and citizens. The opposition was based on genuine concerns, sometimes fueled by a lack of understanding of what was being proposed and where it was being proposed.

Some property owners outside the district feared a unilateral expansion of the boundary lines to incorporate their land into the district. These fears were groundless, and that fact was pointed out at every opportunity.

Some opponents of the proposed ordinance, through ignorance of the contents of the ordinance or otherwise, stirred unfounded fears by alleging erroneously that property values would fall, taxes would rise and traffic problems multiply, if the ordinance was adopted.

Members of the VCCC had to spend a great deal of time addressing these charges while, at the same time, preparing for the public hearing which the Watauga County Planning Board had scheduled for mid-September. They succeeded in building a substantial base of support, particularly among the owners of property included within the proposed historic district.

The Planning Board public hearing was protracted, contentious and inconclusive. As with most public hearings over controversial topics, irrelevancies and nonsequiturs were mixed in with hard facts, impassioned pleas, honest differences of opinion and appeals to altruistic motives. The Planning Board took no action and placed the issue on the agenda of its October 17 meeting. At that time it would decide whether to recommend the ordinance with approval to the County Commissioners, the ultimate arbiters in this matter.

Mustering Defenses

After the postponement, the VCCC went to work to prepare material which would address the issues raised by opponents of the proposed ordinance. The packet of information went to all members of the Planning Board, the County Commissioners, the editors of the local newspapers, Governor Jim Martin, the Secretary of the NC Department of Transportation, the region's legislative representatives, Senator Terry Sanford, and the NC Division of Archives and History. Contained in this vital mailing were:

1. A memorandum to the Planning Board summarizing the process which had been followed to create the proposed district, including the positive vote of 80% of the property owners in the proposed district and the 6 to 3 affirmative vote of the VCCC to recommend the ordinance to the Planning Board.
2. A Fact Sheet with a chronology of events surrounding the development of the ordinance and a list of principal properties within the proposed district which qualify as historic.
3. A map delineating the proposed Historic District and the larger area encompassed by the VCCC planning mandate.
4. Finally, an item-by-item refutation of the statements made in the more flagrantly misleading petitions distributed by the opposition.

The response made by the VCCC in the face of an emotional opposition is typical of its members' style throughout the process of developing a historic district ordinance as part of the community plan. They were systematic in evaluating their options and dedicated in their efforts to educate their opponents, many of whom were not from the area under consideration by the VCCC. They sought professional advice and adapted it to their situation, mindful that only local Valle Crucians could solve Valle Crucis' problems.

The Outcome

The October Planning Board meeting was a qualified success for the VCCC. The Board voted 4 to 3 to put the proposed Historic District Ordinance forward to the County Commissioners with its approval contingent on receiving comments from the Division of Archives and History regarding a proposed map change. The map change excludes two parcels of land which lie in the critical central area of Valle Crucis. The two parcels lie in close proximity to the Mast General Store and the Mast Store Annex, a 1909 store which is a second retail center for the Mast Store.

A recommendation to remove two parcels from the proposed historic district would place the Mast General Store next to land uncontrolled by the district regulations.

The removal of these parcels jeopardizes the character and integrity of the proposed district. They are located in the most readily visible area of Valle Crucis among the most significant historic buildings in the community.

The VCCC plans to plead its case before the Commissioners for including these parcels in the district. The VCCC feels that some control should be exercised over use of these key parcels and the design of any structures placed on them.

Conclusion

We are convinced that the ordinance we prepared for the Valle Crucis Community Council represents a valid, if tortuous, approach to the designation of a local historic district where zoning does not exist. We were forced to attenuate the content of a zoning ordinance in order to create a local historic district and historic district commission; and that fact makes us uncomfortable. A much more appropriate approach would be the designation of a local district and the establishment of the district commission with Certificate of Appropriateness power. We do not believe that the added steps required by the need to create a zoning ordinance serve a useful purpose.

Historic district guidelines are most effective when used in concert with a complete array of land use regulations; zoning, subdivision regulations, tree ordinances, sign controls and others. These various controls complement one another and work together to accomplish the overall goal of promoting the public health, safety and welfare.

The adoption of a comprehensive set of land use regulations signals a community's recognition of the importance of these controls and its respect for the police-power they represent.

We are also uncomfortable with the fact that we are depending on the Historic District Ordinance to give some degree of protection to the landscape of Valle Crucis. Other mechanisms such as scenic easements and even transfer of development rights may be more effective in saving the hillsides and flood plains which are essential to the charm of Valle Crucis. However, given the political climate of the area, the historic district ordinance was the most acceptable strategy.

There should be statutory means for communities desiring the protection of a local historic district to obtain that protection while avoiding debilitating, dangerous and diversionary fights about the political acceptability of zoning. We hope that the next session of the North Carolina General Assembly will be presented with legislation which would allow designation of local historic districts and the formation of local historic district commissions, in areas where zoning does not exist, without the need to first establish a zoning ordinance. Some of North Carolinas's most fragile cultural and historic landscape treasures exist in areas where support for comprehensive zoning simply is not present. By linking historic preservation through local district designation, to zoning, North Carolina unnecessarily and unfairly limits local efforts to preserve those treasures.

Meanwhile, we believe that our non-zoning zoning ordinance demonstrates that preservation without the "z" word is possible. It does provide a response to the deficiencies of the North Carolina enabling legislation. It permits communities that wish to set up local districts to do so without going through agonizing fights among contending forces over the issue of zoning. We are convinced that the way in whicissue was handled in the Valle Crucis Historic District Ordinance is transferable to other communities facing similar challenges. □

Diane E. Lea is Vice-President of Robert M. Leary and Associates, and is a specialist in historic preservation planning. She has served as President of the Chapel Hill Preservation Society, as a member of the Chapel Hill Historic District Commission, and as Editor of *The Preservationist*, a publication of the Historic Preservation Society of North Carolina, the forerunner of the Historic Preservation Foundation of North Carolina.

Robert M. Leary, President of Robert M. Leary and Associates, is a former Planning Director of Ann Arbor, Michigan, and Fairfax County, Virginia. As Assistant Manager of the National Capital Commission, Ottawa, Canada, he oversaw planning and design for numerous projects including the historic City of Hull. Mr. Leary is presently a Lecturer at the NCSU School of Design and was formerly a Visiting Lecturer at the Department of City and Regional Planning at UNC-Chapel Hill.

Commentary

A Planner's Role in Preservation

J. Myrick Howard

When I first started my job in 1978 as Executive Director of the Historic Preservation Foundation of North Carolina, as a recent graduate of the Law and Planning joint degree program at Chapel Hill, I constantly had people respond to me with either, "I was expecting someone *much* older" or, "what's a nice young man like you doing in a field like historic preservation?" What they were really expecting was the proverbial blue-haired little old lady with tennis shoes - or at least a gaunt pale man who looked like he wandered out of the library stacks. A sterling pedigree would be a given. Degrees in city and regional planning and law seemed strange.

More than a decade later, I better understand the comments. I realize that there is marked contrast between being involved in history and in historic preservation. The people are different, the goals are different, and the perspective is decidedly different. And yet, many people don't recognize or understand the distinction - sometimes, even, professionals in the field.

Historic preservation is not primarily a business of looking back. At the professional conferences, the talk is more typically about future generations than ancestors. Although the field certainly had its roots in history, and the little old ladies in tennis shoes made an enormous contribution to the cause, historic preservation now encompasses a much broader "quality of life" concern.

If anything, historic preservation is an ethic. The ranks of preservationists are woven into coalitions drawn from a wide variety of disciplines, interested in disparate specific issues. The training of professionals in the field reflect such diverse backgrounds as planning, landscape architecture, architecture, art history, law, business, history, political science, construction, and volunteerism.

The interests of preservationists are interdisciplinary:

Environmental - recycling resources for the benefit of society;

Neighborhood - protecting homes and their residents from intrusion and deterioration;

Housing - providing affordable housing through sensitive and cost-effective rehabilitation;

The Arts - treating the buildings themselves as the most public form of the arts or adaptively using older buildings as art places;

Architecture - providing richness and variety of design;

Building Science - marveling at the quality of early materials and the craft of early construction;

Downtown Revitalization - using older buildings to attract reinvestment in downtown areas and to define a sense of place for a community;

Economic Development - employing the ambiance of history to attract tourists, businesses, and industry; and, of course,

History - using the buildings as a tangible link to the past, defining who we are and where we came from.

If preservation is an ethic and with so many different reference points, how does a planner deal with historic preservation?

First, a planner needs to know what resources are considered valuable and worthy of special consideration. An inventory of properties and areas which have historic, architectural or cultural significance should be as much a part of the planner's daily toolbox as his or her base map. The inventory should be frequently updated, since what our society values constantly evolves. For example, one of the most heavily attended National Register museum houses in the United States is Graceland, the home of Elvis Presley, in Memphis. A more humble example: ten years from now, people will be clamoring to preserve tobacco barns in North Carolina, an omnipresent structure just a decade ago.

Second, the planner should recognize the validity of differing viewpoints about older buildings and landscapes. Just as a good personnel manager will evaluate and take advantage of different personality types, a good planner will view the public's interest in preservation as a resource to be used to community advantage.

All too often, preservationists are viewed as obstructionists or nuisances. Better that they be thought of as change managers. The preservationist is frequently asking - for whatever reason - whether the buildings and landscapes which are in existence are better than those which are proposed as their replacements.

Perhaps the preservationist sees the buildings through different eyes. Many of the properties with which the Preservation Foundation's revolving fund has worked have truly been dilapidated eyesores, and yet the eye of the preservationist was drawn to a different "beauty," one which the community shared after reinvestment and education.

Preservation is no longer simply the domain of a wealthy white population. Different cultures value their own history and icons. If a low-income neighborhood is interested in directing its own destiny through the improvement of its shotgun shacks, can the planner adapt his or her interest in housing to include their rehabilitation rather than replacement? Those turn-of-the-century shotgun houses are probably built better and with higher quality materials than the new apartments or manufactured homes which would replace them. And the neighborhood stays intact, with its own identity, residents and history.

Asking the practicing planner to develop a preservation ethic may be akin to asking someone to "get religion." When people ask me how I developed my own interest in historic preservation, I frequently say that I "caught the disease and can't seem to shake it." I'm only half joking. Once a person learns about older buildings and what they can tell us about our cities, towns, and countrysides, he or she sees places differently. One sees a richness of detail and a variety of building types and discerns a history which makes each city or town different, unique, memorable.

One of the things which I have enjoyed most about working in the field of historic preservation is the people. By and large, they are people who care intensely about their communities; people who sometimes believe that the bottom line is not the only line. They care about the future and about the environment which will be passed along to future generations.

And isn't that what planning is all about? □

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